DEC., 1962

WASHINGTON CORE
ANNUAL REPORT ~~F~~/Y. 1962

Since May 6, 1961, the Washington Chapter of CORE has engaged in many Campaigns in eliminating job discrimination in the Nation's Capital and sit-in demonstrations in the suburbs in the area of public accomodations.

The Washington Chapter of CORE has been responsible for the opening up of over 500 jobs for Negroes in business concerns in D. C. The Chapter campaigns have covered primarily the private sector of the Washington Business Community. CORE's initial stated objective in it's merit hiring campaign was to create an atmosphere in the city in which all job seekers, regardless of Race or Color, will feel free to apply for any and all jobs for which they can qualify or be trained.

Examples of the Washington Chapter's accomplishments are as follows:

1. On May 6, 1961, the Hecht Company, the largest Department Store Chain in D. C., agreed to hire Negroes. The Company hired 35 Negro sales personnel and secretaries and one Assistant Buyer.

2. On July 30, 1961, the Hahn Shoe Store Chain agreed to adopt CORE's proposal regarding fair hiring practices and hired, immediately, Negro Shoe Salesmen in four of it's Washington stores.

3. On August 5, 1961, the Wilkins Coffee Company and Manns Potato Chip Company agreed as a result of CORE action and hired Negro driver-salesmen, office and clerical personnel.

4. On August 22, 1961, the Warner Theatre Chain, which has 13 Theatres in D. C., after prodding by the Washington Chapter, hired a total of 8 Theatre Managers, 6 ticket~~s~~ takers and candy counter personnel.

5. Labor Day, 1961, the Police Department picketed regarding police brutality, including use of dogs.

6. On September 3, 1961, the Lerner Dress Chain reached an agreement with Washington CORE resulting in the immediate hiring of 130 office, clerical and sales personnel in D. C., Philadelphia and New York City.

7. On December 20, 1961, the Woodward & Lothrop Store, as a result of picket lines inposed by Washington CORE, hired 56 sales, clerical and office personnel, one Buyer Trainee and placed an order with Howard University School of Business Administration for a Junior Executive Trainee.

WASHINGTON CORE
ANNUAL REPORT F.Y. 1962

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5. Labor Day, 1961, the Police Department picketed regarding police brutality, including use of dogs.

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7. On December 20, 1961, the Woodward & Lothrop Store, as a result of picket lines imposed by Washington CORE, hired 35 sales, clerical and office personnel, one Buyer Trainee and placed an order with Howard University School of Business Administration for a Junior Executive Trainee.

8. On January 23, 1962, the Lansburg Department Store, after prodding by Washington CORE, changed it's hiring practices and hired 7 Negro sales personnel and 1 Assistant Buyer, and upon later survey additional personnel had been hired.

9. On February 24, 1962, CORE led over 200 pickets, including representatives of 46 other Community Organizations in a demonstration for merit hiring in the entire 1300 block of "F" Street, N. W. (The heart of the Washington Business District).

10. On February 25, 1962, the Raleigh Haberdashery agreed to CORE's terms and hired 2 Negro sales people and 1 clerical worker. (This is a smaller store).

11. On March 16, 1962, The Bond Clothing Store announced a change in it's hiring practices after being picketed by Washington CORE, and immediately hired Negro sales and office personnel.

12. On April 27, 1962, the University Shop, which had vowed it would never have Negro personnel, after being picketed by Washington CORE, hired a Negro salesman in it's men's accessories Department. (Only 11 salesmen in store.)

13. CORE's most recent accomplishment, in the area of job discrimination, was in a campaign against D. C. Transit Company, resulting in the hiring of 40 bus drivers and over 25 clerical and office personnel, with provisions for future review to verify continuation of merit hiring.

14. As an example of recent sit-in activity, on June 7, 1962, the enclosed photostated articles, regarding demonstrations at Crivella's Wayside Restaurant in nearby Montgomery County, Maryland, show where CORE was joined by Representative William Fitts Ryan.

Julius W. Hobson
Chairman, WASHINGTON CORE

Rimsky Atkinson
Vice Chairman, WASHINGTON CORE

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11. On March 16, 1962, The Band Clothing Store announced a change in it's hiring practices after being picketed by Washington CORE, and immediately hired Negro sales and office personnel.

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13. CORE's most recent accomplishment, in the area of job discrimination, was in a campaign against D. C. Transit Company, resulting in the hiring of 10 bus drivers and over 25 clerical and office personnel, with provisions for future review to verify continuation of merit hiring.

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Julius W. Hobson
Chairman, WASHINGTON CORE

Shirley Atkinson
Vice Chairman, WASHINGTON CORE

Rent Strike

Disrupting the Slum System

by Frances Fox Piven and Richard A. Cloward

For a few feverish months during the winter of 1963-64, rent strikes broke out in New York's ghettos. Activists of various persuasions moved in to canvass the tenements, blending the language of the building codes with the language of direct action. In a short time, some 500 buildings were on strike. Then almost as quickly as it had erupted, the movement subsided. By late spring, there were few traces to be seen.

The rent strike of 1963-64 was not the first. In the 1890's, after a half-century of turbulence among the urban poor, rent strikes were common in New York. They occurred again after World War I and during the early years of the depression. Accused of bolshevism and threatened with reprisals, tenants nonetheless compelled government to limit rent increases and curtail evictions. These earlier strikes usually began spontaneously, often leading to massive street violence. Radicals tried to capitalize upon these uprisings to build permanent "people's organizations," hoping by education and exhortation to turn the seemingly incoherent energy of the mob into consistent pressure for continuing reform through the electoral process. And this is ironic, for the reforms produced by rent strikes resulted from the disruptions themselves, not from the influence of tenant organizations which, if they emerged at all, were small and unstable. In retrospect, the rent strike of 1963-64 was probably the least disruptive in history; it was also the least successful in producing any important reforms. Its failure suggests some lessons for the future.

By the early 1960's, New York City had been plagued with a housing shortage for at least two decades. Then, as now, the shortage took its severest toll from blacks and Puerto Ricans, who occupied the 550,000 units classified by the census as "deteriorated, dilapidated, or lacking essential facilities" and the 100,000 other units classified as "overcrowded." The hardships created by inadequate and insufficient housing were intensified by the destruction and dislocation caused by urban renewal and public works programs, which had set the city's low-income neighborhoods on edge. And by the late summer of 1963, after the March on Washington, activists were beginning to turn to the ghettos of New York and other Northern cities to stimulate blacks to act on political and economic issues.

In this climate of discontent and protest, a maverick radical named Jesse Gray announced a Harlem rent strike. On November 1 Gray took out 16 buildings. A month later, the number had risen to 50. Volunteers from the Northern Student Movement then joined forces with Gray, and another 50 Harlem buildings went on strike. A CORE chapter on the Lower East Side took six buildings out on strike in the fall, and later its efforts were augmented when Mobilization for Youth, an antipoverty project sponsored by the federal and city governments, helped a variety of community groups to form "The Lower East Side Rent Strike," bringing about 50 more buildings into the movement. Meanwhile, an especially effective CORE group in Brooklyn organized 200 buildings. In East Harlem, 50 buildings struck, some organized by the East Harlem Tenants Council and others by two local CORE chapters. A union of low-paid blacks and Puerto Ricans, Local 1199 of the Drug and Hospital Workers, helped put 30 more buildings on strike by working with tenants who were union members. With Gray at its head, a massive protest seemed about to burst forth from the black slum. The civil rights movement had indeed come North.

But day-to-day organizing had little drama. After the first flush of enthusiasm, young and inexperienced organizers began to accept the guidance of the Metropolitan Council on Housing, an organization of older radicals which had formed during the earlier struggles against urban renewal and whose leaders urged cautious tactics consistent with the complex statutes governing rent withholding. The law prescribed an elaborate bureaucratic course, and the courts interpreted the law rigidly. Judges admitted only the inspection records of the Department of Buildings as evidence of hazardous violations. To obtain those records, organizers had to fill out forms and arrange and follow up appointments for inspections; check agency files to

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FRANCES FOX PIVEN *and* RICHARD A. CLOWARD *are on the faculty of the Columbia University School of Social Work.*

make sure that hazardous violations had been posted; and meanwhile see that rents withheld by tenants were being collected and deposited in a private escrow account. (If the tenants lost in court, these funds were turned over to the landlord; if they won, the money was turned over to the clerk of the court, to be given to the landlord after repairs were made.) Finally, organizers had to shepherd tenants through the courts. And all of this turned out to require enormous effort and expertise.

At the outset, rent-strike cadres were not dismayed by these elaborate procedures. Indeed, they defined them as a means of educating tenants and building tenant associations. Canvassing door-to-door to discover housing violations was a way of making contact with tenants; filing "multiple form" complaints was a way of stimulating building meetings; assigning tenants the responsibility for collecting rents and managing escrow accounts was a way of strengthening building committees and developing leadership. And through these tenant groups, organizers believed the poor could be educated to the larger political issues underlying slum housing. Such "radicalizing" of tenants was presumably to produce mass associations capable of exerting regular influence on government; each arduous bureaucratic task would contribute to the creation of a permanent "people's organization." That public agencies were thereby dictating the tactics of the movement struck no one as anomalous.

The emphasis on bureaucratic rules and procedures was also dictated by fear that tenants would be evicted if other tactics were followed. A few evictions did occur, and they sometimes evoked frenzied but haphazard resistance. Early in February, Gray and 10 of his aides were arrested for attempting to prevent an eviction by "strong-arming" city marshals. Sometimes, when marshals appeared, organizers sat on the furniture while one of their number hurried to file a stay of eviction with the court. When furniture was already piled on the street, organizers occasionally moved it back to gain time to get the tenant into court. But while such "holding" tactics usually worked, they were not employed regularly, for the organizers concentrated on using legal safeguards. When CORE organizers failed to resist the eviction of a family on the Lower East Side, other striking tenants, fearing that they also would be turned out, hysterically demanded the rent money from their escrow accounts. That event broke the strike in the CORE stronghold on Eldridge Street. Such experiences seemed to affirm the importance of adhering all the more to elaborate bureaucratic procedures. Organizers became clerks, and political action was reduced to bookkeeping.

The test of these tactics was to come in the courts. The first two cases were heard during a barrage of publicity and were won by the tenants. But public interest quickly faded, and in subsequent decisions judges reaffirmed traditional property rights. When, sometimes mysteriously and sometimes because of slip-ups, records subpoenaed from the Department of Buildings failed to show hazardous violations, judges rejected the testimony of tenants or photographs of building conditions and ordered the rents to be paid, often berating the organizers for troublemaking. Landlords frequently asked for adjournments, since they knew that many tenants would prefer to pay the rent rather than spend another day in court. Such failures led organizers to adhere even more rigidly to procedures, to focus more and more energy on fewer and fewer buildings.

But the bureaucratic rites by which repairs were to be exacted, and tenants educated, exhausted organizers and bewildered tenants. To cope with agency procedures required precisely those resources of money, expertise, and forbearance which are scarcest among the poor. Meanwhile, landlords exploited bureaucratic intricacies and corruptibility to evade or overcome the challenge. Even occasional tenant victories in the courts yielded only minor and temporary repairs. Unable to produce repairs quickly and to multiply them widely, tenant affiliation did not expand, and the strike developed little political force. Thus the movement began to subside a few months after it formed.

At first blush, rent strike appears to be a simple and powerful strategy to bring about housing reform. It can be just that, but only if it acquires the momentum to compel government action. In the strike of 1963-64, the landlord was the target, and that was the first mistake. Slum landlords generally do not have the resources to rehabilitate their buildings – not, at least, unless rents are substantially increased. The slum is the underbelly of the real-estate market: tenants who cannot compete for housing elsewhere are preyed on by entrepreneurs who lack the capital or competence to compete for profit elsewhere. More prosperous and stable real-estate investors put their capital in the regular market, where money can be made in less demeaning ways, leaving the slum to be exploited by men who seek to gain on dubious speculative exchanges or who, restrained by rent-control laws from levying large increases, shore up their declining profits by skimping on repairs and services. The result is inflated prices and deteriorated buildings – a situation that can be remedied only by public action.

Public programs exist on the books, but are unused. In New York City, for example, low-cost municipal loans can be made to landlords to reduce the burden of undertaking rehabilitation; by 1963, however, only one such loan had been made, because the city was reluctant to become implicated in the shadowy finances

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of slum housing. The receivership program empowers the city to take over and repair hazardous buildings; after a year of operation, only 16 buildings had been acquired and, at that, the Commissioner of Real Estate reported indignantly that the city was finding the venture unprofitable! Thus, despite a wide variety of programs and powers available to municipalities, the bulk of slum housing remains and worsens – the rent strikers of 1963-64 lived in some of the same tenements which inspired the protests of such 19th-century reformers as Jacob Reis and Lillian Wald.

Political leaders and public agencies never became the target of the 1963-64 strike. On the surface, municipal agencies were conciliatory. The Department of Buildings put an inspector at Gray's disposal, and similar concessions were made to leaders elsewhere. Meanwhile, the mayor and his aides spoke out publicly against the slums, bewailing housing conditions and invoking the villain landlord of ancient myth. They called for more housing inspectors as well as legislation authorizing higher fines and jail sentences. These responses were predictable, if not perennial: the law already permitted considerably higher fines than were being levied by the courts, and housing agencies, we have noted, already had substantial powers and programs they were not employing. In the end, government escaped unscathed, having made only a few meaningless concessions.

How can government be forced to act? One thing is certain: the tactics used in 1963-64 won't do. Organizers reasoned that with the promise of repairs as the initial inducement to participate, stable organizations of the poor would eventually be formed, and that these would influence government. But the continuing emphasis on building permanent associations rests on a mistaken premise: that public decisions are made only in response to organized voting numbers. This view overlooks the impact of crisis as a way of compelling public action. When crisis occurs, many groups are aroused; they view disorder as a failure of governmental responsibility and demand measures (whether concessions or repression) to restore order. Crisis thus has a potential political force far greater than the number of citizens, organized or not, who participate in the disruptive action itself. The legalistic tactics of 1963-64 did not generate a public crisis, but other, more disruptive rent strike tactics would.

The key to a disruptive rent strike is for tenants to pocket the rent, not place it in escrow. Widespread action of this kind would throw the slum housing economy into chaos, for many landlords would have to abandon their property, leaving thousands of tenants in buildings without services or even minimal maintenance. As health hazards multiplied and the breakdown of landlord-tenant relations threatened to spread, the clamor would mount for governmental action to solve the crisis.

Pocketing the rent money would mean an immediate gain for tenants – a far more compelling incentive to participate than the vague hope of getting minor repairs. The main job of organizers would be to expand the strike by exciting indignation and urging tenants to spend their rent money for other needs. Such activity is much more compatible with the skills and temperament of organizers than canvassing for violations, filing forms, searching records, maintaining escrow accounts, and sitting endlessly in courtrooms. Relieved of these wearisome chores, they should be able to reach far more people than in 1963-64.

What of the dangers? It will be argued that the city can retaliate – at the very least, evictions might result. To minimize this risk, organizers need to mobilize at least a few hundred buildings to launch the strike, adding more buildings during the two- or three-month period it takes landlords to process evictions. It is unlikely that thousands, or even hundreds, of families would be put out on the streets, especially on the streets of ghettos whose growing and turbulent populations politicians can no longer afford to antagonize flagrantly. Furthermore, mass evictions would be viewed by many in the wider public as an even greater disorder than the breakdown of slum property relations.

It is important to understand that political leaders can prevent evictions, for the decision to evict is as much political as judicial. City governments, for example, have the legal right to initiate court proceedings against landlords who fail to correct violations. New York City has, in addition, the power to undercut legal actions taken against tenants by such landlords, simply by reducing rents to a dollar a month in buildings with multiple violations. Nor would housing courts in most cities, typically run by politically appointed judges, be so lenient with landlords when pressed by political leaders. Finally, to obtain time to wash out dispossess actions, mayors in most cities can simply order city marshals to delay all evictions, as a New York mayor did during the violent rent strike of 1933. The legalistic tactics employed by the tenants in 1963-64 enabled political leaders to leave the strikers at the mercy of the agencies and the courts. But faced with tactics which ignore bureaucratic procedures and court proceedings, public officials would have to use their powers to forestall mass evictions or risk a major threat to political stability. Except in the face of a crisis, however, chief executives will not use these powers. Even if they did act, organizers would have to develop cadres to resist isolated evictions, defending the lone tenant by pitting the ghetto against the city's marshals and thus raising the specter of large-scale violence. Street action is far easier to mobilize than

stable organizations of tenants. In 1963-64, however, organizers did not encourage street action, having pinned hope on the bureaucracies and courts.

By now it should be abundantly clear that the strategy we advocate is in no way limited to those few cities with statutes authorizing rent withholding. These laws are irrelevant, if not diversionary. Our analysis shows the futility of efforts to help masses of tenants make individual use of cumbersome procedures of legal redress. Disruptive tactics have a different purpose: to shift the burden of action against slum landlords from tenants to city governments.

There are measurable gains to be made by a disruptive rent strike. At the very least, this tactic should impel cities to use such programs as exist, whether offering low-cost loans to landlords who are willing to make repairs or making extensive emergency repairs and billing landlords for the cost. Most important, under the cumulative impact of disruptive actions, thousands of buildings would be abandoned – left to government to take over. It is crucial to understand why this result would follow.

Slum housing is rampantly illegal, yet public agencies have never made much effort to enforce housing codes in New York. Even in those few cases where landlords were taken to court, the fines levied per violation averaged only $22 in 1963. By 1966 they had fallen to $14. Code-enforcement machinery is not allowed to work for good reason: a crackdown would produce massive dislocation of landlords and tenants. Repairs are extremely expensive, and building income is limited by the poverty of the captive tenant market as well as by rent-control laws. Just a modest step-up in enforcement activity under a new administration in New York City recently resulted in an upsurge in the number of foreclosures, tax delinquencies and vacate orders. If slumlords were pushed out, government would have to house the minority poor. So the enforcement agencies use their powers gingerly and selectively, usually paying heed only when tenants have the tenacity or the "pull" to compel enforcement.

In other words, slum profits have depended on collusion between city agencies and landlords: in return for nonenforcement of the codes, the slumlord takes the blame for the slum and enables the city to evade the political ire of the ghetto. But once municipal agencies are compelled to act on the codes, many owners of deteriorated buildings will be forced out of business, unable or unwilling to make the required repairs. Considering the highly marginal character of the slum market, the rent-strike tactics we propose could precipitate change no less fundamental than large-scale public takeover of land and buildings.

What would a city government do with slum buildings? Very likely, it would divest itself as quickly as possible of responsibility for them. To maintain the slums could only be expensive and politically onerous. City officials would run the risk of angering tenants dissatisfied with repairs and services, as well as taxpayers disgruntled by new investments in housing for the black and poor. Under such circumstances, municipalities might well move to sell or lease slum lands and buildings to private redevelopers. New governmental schemes are now in the making to stimulate investments in ghettos by national corporations, with federal subsidies to guarantee profits (*e.g.*, tax benefits, low-cost loans and insurance, and rent supplements). These schemes, if implemented, would provide a way out for municipalities thrust by disruptive rent strikes into the role of slum landlords.

Federally subsidized corporate redevelopment will result in better housing and facilities; it will also bring the ghetto under the hegemony of an alliance of national corporations and federal bureaucracies. Now that blacks are coming into power in many large cities, the ghettos would be much better off with the municipality acting as redeveloper and landlord. Nevertheless, corporate ownership appears to be the wave of the future, and the leverage of the vote will have limited effect on corporate policies regarding location and design, tenant selection or rents.

To deal with corporations on these policies, tenants will need to develop modes of influence beyond the vote. In this connection, corporate ownership might provide a favorable context for organizing mass-based tenant unions. As we noted earlier, most tenants now live in buildings owned by small entrepreneurs who themselves have limited financial resources and so cannot yield to tenant demands; with nothing much to gain, tenants cannot easily be organized. Furthermore, ownership is so fragmented that efficient negotiating is virtually impossible. Under a system of national corporate ownership, however, tenants would confront large-scale landlords with ample resources to be conceded at the bargaining table. Tenant organization would then be comparable to the organization of workers in the factory system or in that sector of agriculture controlled by large corporations. Thus rent strikes could be mobilized to demand partial control of management policies and lower rents (so it would fall to large corporations, not the poor, to fight with Congress for higher rent subsidies). Most important, strikers might hold out for concessions which would nurture stable tenant unions – especially collective-bargaining contracts and a dues check-off from rent payments. In Chicago, a few tenant groups have used rent strikes as leverage against several large landlords, forcing through contracts which include check-offs. But whether the object is to compel housing improvements in a system of fragmented slum ownership or to create tenant unions in a system of large-scale own-

er-ship, disruptive tactics are the key.

There are only certain periods when a disr ve force can be mobilized, for the poor are ordi ly passive, obeisant to the rules prescribed by dom t institutions. But from time to time normative c d weakens and unrest mounts, as in 1963-64. Now a time is upon us again; there is greater turbule n the ghetto than ever before. Young and ag leaders are emerging who are unencumbered to white institutions. Whatever else might d about the rhetoric of black power, it serves t mine the legitimacy of established arrangement ing people fo

This is also a time when disruption might unique force in moving government. The black are swelling in many cities, and more than a fe municipal leaders remain in office merely be blacks are not yet sufficiently mobilized, or antagonized, to unseat them. Under the impact of disruptive tactics, white politicians wishing to retain control of municipal ment would have to make concessions. In York, ample, Mayor Lindsay, a Republic s assu election in 1965 because blacks, rily Dem tic, gave him an unprecedented cent of t vote. Were he to permit mass ev his sub ent defeat would seem a foregon sion. Els , the potential for black reprisals t white p s is far greater; blacks compos 15 perce New York's population, but the pproaching ave already reached) a majori ny cities.

O disruptive strategy is always uncertain beca ot guided by legal and political conven- n violating these conventions the poor exp they are worse off on what may ground. For in playing by insti- the ke on the full complement of require imposed by powerful groups who make the rule able to meet these requirements, they can only se.

INTERNAL CORE BUSINESS: NOT FOR RELEASE TO THE PRESS

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INTERNAL CORE BUSINESS: NOT TO BE RELEASED TO THE PRESS

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<u>APPENDICES</u>: A,B,C,D,E,F,G,H,I,J,K.

<u>EXHIBITS</u>: Exhibits further documenting these charges have been assembled but are not attached, except in the master copy submitted to the National CORE office. The text refers to them as Exhibits 1,2,3,etc. They have not been reproduced for financial reasons, but all copies of exhibits are available for presentation and reproduction when appropriate. Exhibits number from 1 to 42. An index of these exhibits is attached to all copies.

(Section I. Continued)

D. Inability to retain committee chairmen.

Below is a record of the turnover of committee chairmen in Washington CORE for the past year. Note that in the past year the Chairman has made 21 appointments of 19 different people to head eight committees. Turnover has been especially high in key committees such as Employment, Housing, and Membership.

COMMITTEE AND CHAIRMAN	REASON FOR LEAVING
Employment	
Paul Bennet	Personal — not qualified
Charles Berger	Unknown — inactive
Hank Thomas	Replaced by Chairman
Marilyn Outlaw	Committee disolved by Chairman; not provided in constitution — inactive
Kerry Napuk	Not allowed to function
Ethelbert Haskins	Project discontinued by Chairman with no formal notification to Haskins — not committee chairman
Membership	
Rowena Rand	"Fired"
Reverend Taylor	"Fired"
Marilyn Outlaw	"Fired"
Marilyn Outlaw (Reappointed)	Dissatisfaction with Chairman
Jack Goodwin (Current chairman)	
(See Section V. on irregularities in membership list, and Appendix D)	
Housing	
Frank Lindenfield	Personal — personal! not afraid to fight Chairman when he disagreed with him
Ben Kleindorfer	Dissatisfaction with Chairman
Karl Gregory	"Fired"; firing rescinded; subsequently resigned for personal reasons
(See Item C, Section I, and Appendix C)	
Tom Floss, Norma Shelton	(Current co-chairmen)
Action	
Marc Goff	"Fired" -- After intensive campaigns against auto dealers and segregated business college (Benjamin Franklyn), both resulting in arrests for Mr. Goff, he was told by the Chairman that his committee was not provided for in constitution. Mr. Goff is no longer on the "active" membership list. — no longer in country either

(Section I. D. Continued)

D. Inability to retain committee chairman. (Continued)

COMMITTEE AND CHAIRMAN	REASON FOR LEAVING
Information	
Naomi Eftis..(Current chairman)	
Home Rule	
Allen Weinstein...(Co-chairman)..	Dissatisfaction with Chairman
Government Relations — did not function	
Stan Salett.....	Personal; dissatisfaction with Chairman
Finance	
Joan Bacchus.....	Elected Corresponding Secretary
Gilbert Douglass...(Current chairman)	

E. Involvement of Washington CORE in ACT meeting Saturday 4/18/64 at Odd Fellows Hall, Washington, D.C. without consent of the body.

"... It should also be noted that while the Washington chapter of CORE had not voted to support ACT or, in fact, had ever heard ACT mentioned at a chapter meeting, posters reading "Washington CORE welcomes you" were prominently displayed at Odd Fellows Hall. The CORE office was used as a headquarters and the Chairman of ACT formally thanked Washington CORE for its hospitality."

How many? Who made signs?

(See Appendix E, statement of Miss Marilyn Outlaw.)

The Washington Afro-American also noted: --excerpt, Afro-American 4/21/64 (underlining added) "Julius Hobson,..of the Washington CORE branch, the group which hosted the meeting, felt the same as Powell." (Exhibit # 11 - Afro-American 4/21/64)

So?

C. Public "firing" of a committee chairman.

In September, 1963, the Housing Committee, chaired by Karl Gregory tested the Marumsco Development for discrimination and filed a complaint of violation of the President's Executive Order barring discrimination in housing. The Housing Committee and Mr. Gregory's efforts conformed with procedures authorized by the Chapter Chairman, filing the complaint with federal housing agencies and releasing it to the Press.

After release of the complaint to the press, the accused developer made a statement to the press that he had already sold a house to a Negro. Instead of discussing the case with Mr. Gregory, Mr. Hobson stated immediately to the press that Gregory had acted in an unauthorized manner and was "fired" as chairman of the Housing Committee. Subsequently, when Mr. Hobson did have a chance to discuss this with Mr. Gregory, he issued a joint statement saying that the housing project had been conducted in conformity with CORE procedures and defending the case.

(Exhibit #8 New York Herald Tribune, September 12, 1963)
(Exhibit #9 Wall Street Journal, September 12, 1963)
(Exhibit #10 Joint press release of Julius Hobson & Karl Gregory, September 11, 1963)
(See also Appendix C Statement of Karl D. Gregory: Marumsco Complaint)

conflicts with Gregory, who says Hobson the talked before Hobson's charges to press allegedly made

at d. folks?

big deal

F. Promise of an unauthorized appearance of Mr. Farmer

When CORE was beginning a Voter Registration drive in December, 1963, Mr. Hobson informed the Voter Registration Committee executive officer and Co-Chairman, Mr. Allen Weinstein, that he had spoken to Mr. James Farmer, National Director of CORE, and secured his consent to appear at a planned VR rally. On the basis of Mr. Hobson's assurances, Mr. Weinstein arranged with the AFL-CIO's Committee on Political Education to print 10,000 leaflets announcing Mr. Farmer's presence at the rally.

Only when Mrs. Rozen, acting as CORE secretary, called National CORE in New York for publicity photos of Mr. Farmer was it learned through Mr. Farmer's secretary that no such commitment had been made by Mr. Farmer. In fact, she informed Mrs. Rozen that Mr.Farmer was vacationing in the Virgin Islands and not expected back until after January 3, 1964, the date of the rally.

(Exhibits #12, Statement of Allen Weinstein, and #13, Voter Registration Rally Leaflet.)

SECTION II. VIOLATION OF CORE RULES AND PROCEDURES IN ACTION PROJECTS

how about last weekend, folks?

A. School Boycott

Major Violations: Rule #7, CORE Rules for Action, "A member will never engage in any action in the name of the group except when authorized by the group or one of its units."

Rule #12, CORE Rules for Action: "Each member shall understand that all decisions on general policy shall be arrived at only through democratic group discussion."

1. Misrepresentation in preliminary discussion of boycott:

Mr. Hobson began discussing the possibility of a school boycott and initiated research on the school system early in February when National CORE joined other major civil rights organizations in supporting school boycotts throughout the country. Hobson told CORE members at a general membership meeting in February he would take his findings on the Washington schools to the February NAC meeting for approval and an NAC decision as to whether Washington should have a boycott. At one meeting he stated National CORE would"help run"the boycott if it were approved by the NAC.

Hobson then shifted from the original idea of a boycott to a "study-in" (all night student sit-ins in the schools) and stated to the membership several times that there would be no boycott because CORE could not swing a boycott. He announced at a membership meeting after the February NAC meeting that the study-in and other proposed forms of direct action were approved by the NAC. (Exhibit #14, Statement by Anna Holden, 5/5/64)

2. Announcement of boycott without vote of membership, negotiation formulation of meaningful demands or proper preparation for action:

how?

In late February and at the March 3 membership meeting it was clear that CORE was moving towards demonstrations aimed at improving the quality of education in the schools. The membership heard reports on work of another organization, DARE, to organize student sit-ins, but did not vote to initiate any direct action of any form. (DARE is a student group headed by a CORE member) (Exhibit #14, Statement by Anna Holden, 5/5/64)

On Sunday, March 8, Hobson announced on WTOP-TV "City Side" news program "a boycott and a week of action in the DC public schools starting with the 20th of April, 1964." Wright, a WTOP panelist, said, "This is the first I've heard of this, is this the first announcement of a boycott date?" Hobson answered:

> This is the first time that we have announced the boycott date, because we just decided this, really a couple of days ago. (Exhibit #15, Page 1, WTOP News Transcript)

Hobson announced on the same program that the week of action would include sit-in demonstrations at the Franklin Building, two days of busing children from crowded to under-capacity schools, and picketing by CORE, DARE, and SNCC. He also announced an appointment with School Superintendent Hansen on March 23. (Exhibit #15, p. 5, WTOP News Transcript)

Research on the school system was speeded up after this announcement, but was not complete when Hobson called for the findings to write up his presentation for the March 23 meeting with Hansen. (Exhibit #16, Statement by Naomi Eftis and other committee members)

At a special meeting on the school boycott, March 18, Odd Fellows Hall, the demands which Hobson listed for his presentation to Hansen were fairly general and did not include detailed proposals and a timetable within each area of concern. Hobson said he had not finished preparing the proposals and would mail copies of his "position paper" to the membership before his meeting with Hansen. (This was not done.) At the meeting after Hobson's conference with Hansen, it was clear that neither the demands nor the timetable were adequately formulated when Hobson met with Hansen. (Exhibit #17, Statement by Anna Holden, Exhibit #18, Proposals, 5/31/64)

The chapter was not involved in the preparation of the community for the boycott prior to the conference with Hansen. The only organizing work reported was the efforts of DARE to organize high school students for sit-ins. Hobson agreed at the March 18 meeting that committees were necessary to implement the school project and passed around sign-up sheets. He refused to spell out or discuss work the committees would do to prepare for the boycott. (Exhibit #14, Statement by Anna Holden)

3. Misrepresentation of nature of CORE to the community

On March 15, in a debate on WRC-TV with Rev. Walter W. Fauntroy, Washington Bureau Director of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Mr. Hobson stated:

> I think he /Fauntroy/ fails to recognize the nature of organizations like the Congress of Racial Equality and its friends...CORE is not in the position to break anything. CORE serves as a gadfly in the community and points up problems. It takes initial action. For example, in employment, it introduces tokenism, by no means cleaning up the problem of discrimination, but at least highlighting it and getting some immediate change. This is the gadfly role that weak organizations...from a finacial point of view and from a membership point of view, have to play. It does not have the strength to break any department store, It doesn't have the strength to clean up downtown. It does not have the community backing and support to clean up the school system. (Appendix F, Transcript WRC-TV debate, March 15, 1964)

At the March 18 meeting on the school boycott to which the press and other civil rights groups were invited , Hobson stated:

> CORE has to act as in guerrilla warfare. CORE can't do anything but raise sand. CORE can't break Safeway, CORE can't break any downtown department store. They have too many resources. They have money and personnel that we don't have. All you can do is point to the issue and other organizations have to clean up. (Exhibit #17, Statement by Anna Holden)

4. Unnecessary attacks on and alienation of other civil rights groups and leaders:

On March 8, Mr. Hobson was quoted in the Washington Post as follows: "I haven't asked the NAACP or the Urban League for a thing because I know they wouldn't go along with us." (Exhibit #19) Eleven major Negro leaders, including representatives of the NAACP, Urban League, SCLC, Baptist Ministers Conference and Federation of Civic Associations, opposed the school boycott on March 20. (Washington Post, March 11, 1964, Exhibit #10) On March 11, Hobson said: "They (eleven leaders) are characteristic of the 'Uncle Tommery' group...are more interested in undermining CORE and maintaining a favorable Negro image...than in solving the Negro problems." (WMAL Newscripts, 3/11/64, Exhibit #21)

On Sunday, March 15, in a debate between Hobson and Walter Fauntroy, Washing Bureau Director of SCLC, Fauntroy stated:

> We have no problem with the issues involved... We are concerned, among the ministers, for example, with the complexity of the problems and the need for sustained and mature action... We feel that action on all of these problems has to be sustained. Many of us have become quite impatient with the pattern of highlighting issues and problems which tend to be on the threshold of public awareness [milking from them] their publicity and public image value and then dropping them and moving on to other issues...(Emphasis added)
>
> Hobson: You seem to be concerned about the entire CORE program. You formed the committee some time ago known as the Committee for Jobs and Justice and went after CORE in the same way when we were after Capitol Transit, did you not? This is not the first time you have banded together to try to stop CORE... You also banded together when we had the March on 16th Street. You als banded together when we had the March down to the District Building to ask the Commissioners for a housing ordinance. So you have a history of banding together whenever CORE proposes or takes action. You band together and react. (Transcript, WRC,TV debate, Mar. 15, 1964, Appendix F)

B. Safeway:

Violations: Rule #7 CORE Rules for Action, "A member will never engage in any action in the name of the group except when authorized by the group or one of its units."

Rule #12, CORE Rules for Action, "Each member shall understand that all decisions on general policy shall be arrived at only through democratic group discussion."

1. Termination of project without knowledge and participation of membership.

On February 18, 1964, at a general membership meeting, discussion of the current Safeway project became heated. Mr. Hobson refused to let the chairman of the Safeway project answer any questions and cut off further debate on the subject.

A few days later, Mr. Hobson indicated to the Safeway chairman that he was anxious to terminate the Safeway project. At the next executive committee meeting, Mr. Hobson gave Mr. Haskins a copy of a letter he had written to Mr. Anderson, the vice-president of Safeway. Hobson promised that he would not send this letter without concurrence of the Safeway committee. Mr. Haskins' committee decided that if the project were to be terminated, the condition should be that Safeway agree to a periodic re-examination of its hiring progress by Washington CORE. Before the Committee could report its decision to Mr. Hobson, and before the next general membership or executive committee meeting, it was announced in the Washington newspapers that Mr. Hobson had reached an agreement with Mr. Anderson of Safeway. The agreement made no concessions to CORE and represented no progress in equal employment opportunity for Negroes. A later examination of the letter Mr. Hobson sent to Mr. Anderson made it apparent that the only demand that Mr. Hobson made was for a joint press statement, even this demand was not granted. (Statement, Ethelbert Haskins, Naomi Eftis, Appendix G)

At the next membership meeting, March 3, Mr. Hobson announced that he had terminated the Safeway project at the instruction of National CORE. He declined to give the terms of the settlement when asked to do so and permitted little discussion on the matter. (Appendix #11, Statement by Anna Holden)

2. Misuse of relationship with National CORE:

Investigation of the alledged telegram from the national office of CORE instructing Washington CORE to end the Safeway project revealed that two telegrams were requested by Mr. Hobson from the national staff apparently for purposes of pressuring the membership: one asking for continuation of the Safeway project and the other requesting suspension of the project.

Letter from James Farmer to Anna Holden, 3/30/64: "Upon receiving your letter, I checked carefully with other staff members and find the following to be true: (1) On or about March 3, a telegram was sent to Julius Hobson over Program Director, Norman Hill's signature. It is my understanding that this telegram had been requested by Julius. The text of the wire is as follows:

NATIONAL CORE SUPPORTS AND AUTHORIZES WASHINGTON CORE'S DEMANDS FOR SPECIFIC AND DETAILED GOALS RE EMPLOYMENT NON WHITES IN SAFEWAY STORES. SPECIFIED APPROACH AND RESULTS ESSENCE NATIONAL CORE POLICY RE EMPLOYMENT DISCRIMINATION. (Exhibit #22)

Telegram from James Farmer to Anna Holden, 4/7/64: FURTHER INVESTIGATION INDICATES THAT FOLLOWING TELEGRAM WAS SENT BY RICHARD HALEY AT REQUEST OF JULIUS HOBSON ON MARCH 2 SAYING "NATIONAL CORE REQUESTS SUSPENSION SAFEWAY PROJECT WASHINGTON PENDING NATIONAL STEERING COMMITTEE CONFERENCE. RICHARD HALEY ASSOICATE NATIONAL DIRECTOR OF CORE." (Exhibit #23)

C. Civil Rights Commission Picketing: Initiation of Project without decision of chapter, announcement of date for direct action without negotiation.

Violations: Rule #7, CORE Rules for Action: "A member will never engage in any action in the name of the group except when authorized by the group or one of its action units."

Rule #12, CORE Rules for Action, "Each member shall understand that all decisions on general policy shall be arrived at only through democratic group discussion."

1. On April 22, CORE members heard announcements on several radio stations that CORE would picket the civil rights commission on April 29. An Afro American news story, April 25, 1964, contained an announcement from Julius Hobson, Chairman of the "Local CORE Chapter" that "demonstrations would be launched against the civil rights fact-finding agency beginning in May. (Exhibit #24, also see Appendix I, statement by Anna Holden, 4/30/64 and Appendix J, statement by Ethelbert Haskins, Norma Shelton, 4/30/64.)

2. Mr. Hobson explained to the Executive Council, April 25 that he had called this project as a Regional Director and that "he had no obligations to consult Washington CORE prior to the announcement." At the April 28 membership meeting, he said he called for the project in his capacity as a regional officer and that he was"informing" Washington CORE about it but not taking a vote." (Appendices I,J)

3. A UPI press release and radio reports, April 29, 1964 stated, "The DC Chapter of CORE has announced cancellation of its plans to picket the Civil Rights Commission today." (Exhibit #25, Appendices I,J)

4. Members of Washington CORE have taken no vote to initiate or cancel this project and to our knowledge there was no negotiation with the Civil Rights Commission prior to the announcement of the picketing.

(See Section IV, "Misuse and misrepresentation of regional representative's office" for further discussion of this project.)

D. Royal Motors: Initiation of project without negotiation, serving of an ultimatum.

Violations: Rule #2, CORE Rules for Action, "A CORE member will seek at all times to understand both the attitude of the person responsible for a policy of racial discrimination, and the social situation which engendered the attitude..."

"This is CORE" "Careful planning and a step-by-step process must precede any public demonstration... In carrying out the action program, CORE first investigates to learn all the facts; second, discusses the grievance with those responsible for the practice in an effort to bring about a change of policy...fourth; publicizes the unjust racial practice through picketing, leaflets and press releases..."

Last July Washington CORE initiated demonstrations at Royal Motors Company without negotiating with the Company. When the company made this fact public Mr. Hobson explained and defended his position of picketing without negotiating to the membership and the press.

1. Mr. McNamara, Royal Motors Attorney, said CORE never gave the company the opportunity to negotiate the grievance. "There were no visits, no overtures, no telephone calls and no discussions at all prior to the appearance of the picket line," Mr McNamara said. "We offered to negotiate, but they refused." (Evening Star, 7/22/63 Microfilm, Library of Congress)

INTERNAL CORE BUSINESS: NOT TO BE RELEASED TO THE PRESS

2. We clearly recall hearing Julius Hobson say at a general membership meeting of CORE, July 1963, "We picket first and parley later." This was in connection with the action at Royal Motors and was part of Mr. Hobson's defense of picketing without investigation. He expanded and defended this position at this meeting.

Affidavit: Ralph and Ann Fertig, Exhibit #26)

3. Hobson said he does little investigating before he brings out his pickets. His only earlier approach to the firm was a form letter sent a year ago to all auto dealers, to which Royal sent no reply because, officials say, they never got it.

"If they answer the letter--OK. If not--we put up the picket line," Hobson said. "My experience leads me to the conclusion that discussion is not as effective as direct action."

(Washington Post, 7/26,63, Exhibit #27)

SECTION III AIRING OF INTERNAL CORE BUSINESS AND DISAGREEMENTS TO NEWS MEDIA

Violation: National Action Council By-law, Feb 21-23, 1964. "... disagreements between members or between CORE groups on action projects, CORE policy or internal CORE Business should not be aired in the public sphere, since such public disagreements almost invariably impair the overall CORE civil rights program, Chapters or individuals violating this policy will be subject to discipline, including disaffiliation."

A. Airing of internal business and disagreement within Washington CORE in the press

1. Public statemnt re: "disruptive forces" in local chapter and civil rights movement:

Washington Evening Star, Apr. 18, 1964:(Title of Article,"Disruptive Force Seen as Threat to CORE") "There is an organized effort to disrupt civil rights groups and the programs of the Negro movement," Julius Hobson said today. "I don't know if it's coming from the far left or the far right or if they are agents of the Confederacy," Mr Hobson said. They are doing an effective job all over the country, especially in Brookly, Dayton (Ohio), Los Angeles and Chicago. This disruption is as effective as if it was being done by staunch segregationists. Mr. Hobson is chairman of the Washington Chapter of the Congress of Racial Equality and CORE's Eastern Regional Director.

... He said this disrupting force is active in his organization here in Washington and is lead by a dozen persons, Negro and white. "There is a well-organized effort to take over the group and to change the basic philosophy of CORE," Mr. Hobson said, "The activities here are a threat to the Washington Civil Rights movement, especially to the student groups...

Mr. Hobson is opposed for reelection as chairman of Washington CORE on May 12, He attracted opposition from a faction of his organization several weeks ago when he proposed, then called off, a boycott of Washington schools to protest the quality of public education in the District... The controversy which resulted from the school boycott idea is an example of the disruptive faction at work in the community... Mr. Hobson said the disruptive faction in Washington CORE has advanced what he considers unrealistic program proposals among other things. "A program of all-out cooperation with other groups is not ideally possible from CORE's philosophical point of view," he said..." (See Appendix B)

2. Public statements criticizing the membership for "lack of... action"

Washington Evening Star, Mar 25, 1964. ... Julius W. Hobson, local chairman of CORE, said he intends to resign his post in May. He had urged the (school) boycott now to be called off. Mr Hobson who has been chairman of CORE since he founded the group here in May 1960, said its lack of positive action last night prompted his decision. He said he will retain his national office as CORE's Regional Director (sic) for Southeastern United States, however. (Exhibit #28)

3. Public statement criticizing and "firing" a committee chairman.

As noted earlier in Section I, Karl D. Gregory, Chairman of the Housing Committee was "fired" in the press in September as the result of a complaint filed to secure compliance with the Presidents Executive Order barring discrimination in housing. Hobson's press statements, not quoted earlier, criticized both the housing chairman and the cases publicly. Mr. Gregory was not contacted before these criticisms were issued.

Examples of public criticism: "Julius Hobson, regional CORE chairman, said Mr. Gregory was fired 'as of when I locate him and tell him so' for sending two complaints to the President's Committee on Equal Opportunity in Housing... He has been issuing unauthorized complaints about unverified cases whech we have not checked with the Federal Housing Administration." (Exhibit #29, Washington Evening Star, 9/11/63).

INTERNAL CORE BUSINESS: NOT TO BE RELEASED TO THE PRESS

"CORE's Mr. Hobson yesterday said the Marumsco complaint was a 'lousy' case to present to the public... CORE officials can't be sure if the second case is any stronger, he added..." (Exhibit #9 [See Section I] Wall Street Journal, September 12, 1963)
(See also Appendix C, Statement by Kenl Gregory, 4/26/64)

B. Airing of National CORE internal business and public attacks on National CORE policies and projects.

1. Public statements re: National action on Brooklyn CORE

(a) Public meeting of ACT , Odd Fellows Hall, Washington, D.C. Saturday, April 18, 1964. From a signed statement by member of Washington CORE in attendance at meeting:

"At a meeting of ACT held...on 18 April 1964, I was present to hear Julius Hobson state that he was proud to say that he had been the only member of the National Action Council to vote against the expulsion of Brooklyn CORE.

"This statement is contradictory to the one which he made at the meeting of the chapter on 4 April in the presence of Mr. James McCain. At that time he told the body he had not voted at all; that he had left the NAC meeting before the vote was held.

"Mr. Hobson further stated at the ACT meeting that he was happy to report that his supporters had voted down a motion made by a member of the opposing faction (in Washington CORE) to support National CORE (in the World's Fair Project)..." (Appendix E, Statement by Marilyn Outlaw, 4/21/64. Note: In addition to Miss Outlaw, other members of Washington CORE were present and heard this statement.)

(b) Comments appearing in conjunction with an announcement of ACT meeting to be held in Washington, D.C.

"...Turning back to the 'stall-in', Mr Hobson said he attended last week's meeting of the steering committee of National CORE and was the lone person who did not vote to suspend the Brooklyn chapter.

"Mr. Hobson, a government economist, said he abstained because he felt that the local chapter was within CORE constitutional rights to sponsor the project.

"However, he explained that his abstention by no means indicated that he supported the New York protest against racial inequality. 'I just don't think the Brooklyn chapter is guilty of violating CORE regulations--and I support them from this standpoint,' he said." (Exhibit #30, Afro American 4/18/64)

WEEKEND COST BOOKINGS: NOT TO BE REVEALED TO THE PRESS

"CORE's Mr. Robson yesterday said the Harmsco complaint was a 'lovely' case to present to the public... CORE officials can't be [illegible] of the tempting case in any attempt, he added..." [illegible]

[illegible]

Public endorsement for National action on Brooklyn CORE

(a) Public meeting at ACT , Old Fellows Hall, Bedlington, [illegible] Saturday, April 10, 1964. [illegible]

"At a meeting of ACT held... on 10 April 1964, I was pressed to [illegible] Union states that he was proud to say that he had been the only member of the National Action Council to vote against the expulsion of Brooklyn CORE.

This statement, is as inconsistency to the one which he made at the meeting of the Council on 6 April in the presence of Mr. James Martin. At that time he [illegible] that he had not voted at all. [illegible] [illegible] the ACT meeting [illegible] [illegible]

Mr. Robson further stated at the ACT meeting that he was happy to assure [illegible] supporters and voted down a motion made by a [illegible] opposing Election (in Washington CORE) to support National CORE [illegible] Freedom Project)..." Responsible E. Statement by [illegible] Outlay, [illegible] Union: In addition to Miss Outlay, other members of Washington CORE were present and heard this statement.)

(b) Statement appearing in conjunction with an announcement of ACT meeting to be held on [illegible], [illegible].

"...Turning back to the [illegible], Mr Robson said he attended last week's meeting of the steering committee of National CORE and was the [illegible] who did not vote to suspend the Brooklyn chapter.

"Mr Robson, a government accountant, said he abstained because [illegible] the local chapter was within CORE constitutional powers to [illegible] the members.

"However, he explained that his abstention by no means indicated he supported the New York protest against Harmsco [illegible] "I feel that until the Brooklyn chapter is guilty of violations [illegible] I accept that from this conclusion," he said. [illegible]

INTERNAL CORE BUSINESS: NOT TO BE RELEASED TO THE PRESS

2. Public attacks on National CORE position on second New York City school boycott. From account of Washington CORE rally on local school boycott, Odd Fellows Hall 3-18/64

"... Mr. Hobson reiterated his charges against the (Washington) school administration, some colored teachers and colored civil rights leaders--including the CORE National office in New York... Mr. Hobson...reported on a meeting he attended in Chester, Pa. with a group of 'national' civil rights figures who, he says, called the session last Saturday to take action against groups which have been guilty of "undercutting" projects such as CORE's proposed boycott here.

"This is when he struck at the National CORE office in New York sharply criticizing the group for its withdrawal from New York's second school boycott this week.

" 'Of all groups, can you imagine CORE not supporting a boycott' asked Mr. Hobson..." (Exhibit #31 Washington Afro-American 3/21/64)

IV. MISUSE AND MIS REPRESENTATION OF ROLE OF REGIONAL REPRESENTATIVE TO CORE NATIONAL ACTION COUNCIL, SOUTHEAST REGION.

Violation: National CORE constitution, Article IX, National Action Council: Section 2: The National Action Council shall be the governing body of CORE between Conventions. Section 3: The National Action Council shall be empowered to fill vacancies in office, and shall meet twice a year, and more often at the call of the Chairman, or the National Director, or one-third of the affilliated chapters.

A. Exceeding Powers of Office.

1. Last fall Mrs. Sue Rozen was employed by Mr. Hobson to serve in the Washington CORE office at 1834 9th Street, N.W., as secretary to the regional representative. Mr. Hobson stated on several occasions, in executive committee meetings and in private conversations, that Mrs. Rozen was working for National CORE and her salary would be paid by National CORE, once an appropriation was made. He further stated that in hiring Mrs. Rozen he had the approval of the National Steering Committee given at a meeting in New York and at a subsequent meeting of the NAC at Los Angeles, November 8-10, 1963.

Mr. Allen Weinstein, who was co-chairman of Washington CORE's voter registration committee, and a personal friend of Mrs. Rozen was privy to the background of her hiring. Mr. Weinstein states in an accompanying affidavit:

INTERNAL CORE BUSINESS: NOT TO BE RELEASED TO THE PRESS

"After attending a meeting of the Steering Committee of the NAC in New York, Mr. Hobson informed me that his request for a regional secretary had been approved by that body, although they could not yet authorize Mrs. Rozen's salary because of their own limited funds. At a subsequent meeting of the NAC in Los Angeles which Hobson attend Mrs. Rozen's salary was authorized, according to statements made to both Mrs. Rozen and myself by Mr. Hobson on several occasions after his return from Los Angeles. Mrs.Rozen started work in the Washingto CORE office under the assumption that both her hiring and salary had been approved by National CORE. In response to questionning at both executive and general membership meetings, Mr.Hobson repeated his claim that Mrs. Rozen's hiring was no concern to Washington CORE because she was the regional secretary and responsible, for salary and duties, to himself personally and to National CORE." (Exhibit #32, Signed Affidavit, Allen Weinstein 5/5/64) (See Exhibit #33 statement by Stan Golett April 28, 1964)

Minutes of the membership meeting of Nov 11, 1963 state: "Mr. Hobson announced that National CORE will be setting up headquarters at the Rhode Island Plaza to work on protest measures against exercises of the filibuster in the Senate. They will be using Sue Rosen (sic) working for Mr. Hobson as Southeast Regional Director." (Exhibit #34, Minutes of membership meeting taken by Joan Bacchus, corresponding secretary, 11/12/63)

Mrs. Rozen worked in the CORE office until the end of January 1964 and according to her statements to Allen Weinstein and Naomi Eftis, received three salary payments: a $250 personal check by the chapter chairman in December; a $100 check authorized by the co-chairman of the voter registration commitee (Weinstein), approved by the Executive Committee for three weeks exclusive work on the voter registration drive; and finally, a $150 check drawn on Washington CORE funds following her resignation. Authorization for the third check is not known.

2. During a membership meeting in January, 1964, Mr. Hobson stated that he was expelling Mrs. Roena Rand, a member of Washington CORE, in his capacity as a regional officer of CORE. He said this following an outburst by Mrs. Rand in which she criticized the chairman of the Voter Registration project and Mr. Hobson. Mr. Hobson later acknowledged he did not have the authority to expell a member as a regional "director". The action was recinded after two meetings of the Executive Committee on the matter. (Appendix K, Statement by Anna Holden May 1, 1964)

3. Civil Rights Commission picketing: As discussed earlier in Section II, on April 22, local radio stations announced that CORE would picket the Civil Rights Commission on April 29 protesting the failure of the Commission to hold hearings in Mississippi. The Washington Afro-American , April 25, 1964, also announced demonstrations to be launched beginning in May, "because the Commission has completed but won't release a report about Mississippi race relations that is 'most devastating.'" As mentioned previously, this project was not discussed at Washington CORE membership or executive committee meetings prior to the announcement. (Appendix K, statement by Anna Holden, Appendix I, statement by Karl Gregory)

In a meeting of the Executive Council, April 25, on the Civil Rights Commission project, "Mr Hobson explained that he had called this meeting at the request of Dolores Pelham, recording secretary, to clarify a mistaken impression of some members concerning the news media announcement of his intention to have an action project against the Civil Rights Commission. Mr. Hobson advised the council that any talk to the effect that he had no right to announce the project without consulting the Chapter was completely erroneous. He had declared the Civil Rights Commission project in his capacity as Regional Director and not as an officer of Washington CORE and under these circumstances he had no obligation to consult Washington CORE prior to the announcement... He also stated that he liked to stage at least one Regional Project a year because this would give him something of value with which to go to the convention."
(Appendix I, Statement of Normal Shelton, Ethelbert Heskins, 4/30/64)

Mr. Hobson announced at the end of the Tuesday, April 28, meeting that he had "called for a regional project" aimed at the Civil Rights Commission and was in contact with Aaron Henry and two CORE chapters about this project; he said he had received a call on it the night before from Mr. James Farmer and would meet in New York this weekend with Farmer and other CORE officials on the project. He said he was "informing the chapter" but "not taking a vote". (There was no discussion of the merits of the project or plans for it and no vote was taken.) Mr. Hobson was questioned about his authority to call a regional project and he said that he called it as a "duly elected representative, by his authority as regional representative." Washington CORE was not asked to participate in the planning or sanctioning of this "regional project." (Appendix J,K, Statements by A. Holden and K. Gregory)

B. Misrepresentation of office:

1. Mr. Hobson represents himself to the membership of Washington CORE as "Southeast Regional'Director'," rather than by his correct title of regional representative. (See, for example, Minutes, Washington CORE Meeting, 11/12/63, Exhibit #34) (Appendix I Statement by Norma Shelton & Ethelbert Haskins: Civil Rights Report)

2. Mr. Hobson is consistently identified in the press by such titles as "Southeast Regional Director" (Washington Evening Star, 10/11/63); "Eastern Regional Director" (Washington Evening Star, 4/19/64); "head" of the "southeastern branches of CORE" (New York Times, 4/2/64); and"field director of CORE" (Washington Post, 4/19/64), rather than by his title of regional representative. Other examples of these incorrect titles appear in the Afro-American, 10/1/63; Washington Post, 3/11/64; Washington Evening Star, 4/16/64; WMAL Newsscripts 3/21/64. There has been no effort to correct this implication of responsibility and authority over Washington CORE and other local chapters in the Southeast region.

V. CONSTITUTIONAL VIOLATIONS AND OTHER IRREGULARITIES IN ACTIVE MEMBERSHIP LIST

Violations: National CORE constitution, Article, XVII, Section 2. "(a) Active membership must be approved by not less than a majority vote of the members of an affiliated chapter."

Washington CORE By-Law stipulating new requirement for active membership passed, Mar. 3, 1964. (Written copy not available but contents essentially same as requirements in new constitution) In order to qualify for membership a new member must participate in three out of four consecutive direct action projects. A member failing to participate in four consecutive action projects will be dropped from active membership and reclassified as an associate member. Associate members may qualify for active status by participating in two out of four consecutive action projects. (Exhibit #35, Constitution of Washington CORE, adopted 3/31/64)

A. National Constitution . Names have been added and subtracted from active membership list without a vote of the body in several meetings, including March 31 meeting when 33 names were added. It should be noted that the 33 names added to the active membership on March 31 constitute approximately one-third of the current active membership.

B. Changes in interpretation of direct action projects qualifying persons for membership. (1) Following adoption of the above by-law on Mar. 3, 1964, requiring new members to participate in three out of four consecutive direct action projects in order to qualify for membership, Jack Goodwin, chairman of the membership committee, announced that participation in the following projects would count toward membership: Safeway, voter registration, Hecht and Park

Naylor. He said further that participation in voter registration alone would qualify a person for active membership and that testing to detect housing discrimination under the auspices of the housing committee would count as a direct action project toward qualifying for active membership. (Note, at this time Mr. Hobson had announced he would not be running for re-election in the May election.)

(2) At the membership meeting of March 31, 1964, 33 names were added to the active membership list without a vote. Many of these people are believed to have qualified as a result of alleged participation in voter registration. (See statement by Naomi Eftis in Appendix D) (Note: Mr. Hobson announced his candidacy at this meeting.)

(3) At the membership meeting of April 14, 1964, Jack Goodwin announced that participation in voter registration alone would no longer qualify a person for active membership. He said that participation in other direct action projects would also be needed. (Statement by Naomi Eftis, referred to above.) Mr. Ploss, Co-Chairman of the Housing Committee has recently been informed that testing for housing discrimination no longer counts toward qualifying persons for active membership.

C. Examples of other irregularities in the active membership list.

(1) "We the undersigned husband and wife, joined the Washington Chapter of CORE at the same time. We paid our dues at the same time, ...we have participated in the same direct action projects. I, Lee Charles am not recorded as an active member. I, Gerald Charles, am on the active membership list. Despite a complaint to the membership chairman no relief of my grievance has been promised or given." (Statement by Lee and Gerald Charles, Exhibit 36)

"I, Thomas H. Ploss, Co-Chairman of Washington CORE's housing committee, personally noted to the membership committee chairman that both Mr. and Mrs. Charles had, in my estimation qualified as active members, and was assured that both Mr. and Mrs. Charles would be included in the active membership list." (Exhibit 37, statement by Thomas Ploss.)

2. "Since I joined Washington CORE about September, 1963, I have never attended a meeting nor have I demonstrated, picketed, tested or participated in any CORE action. Despite this, my name is on the active membership list." (Exhibit #38, statement by Francine Taft.)

Internal CORE Business: Not for Release to the Press #38

May 1, 1964

Statement Re: Active Membership List

Since I joined Washington CORE about September, 1963 I have never attended a meeting nor have I demonstrated, picketed, tested or participated in any CORE action. Despite this my name is listed on the Washington Core active membership list but according to the Constitution of this Chapter I do not qualify for active membership.

/s/ Francine N. Taft

Internal CORE Business: Not for Release to the Press

On April 8, 1964, I phoned Roger Wheaton to invite him to a CORE-related party. He said that he had not heard about the party, and that he didn't know much about CORE because he hadn't been around for a long time and had only just been added to the active membership list. Here, as precisely as I can remember it, is the conversation that followed:

Roger Wheaton: " A few months ago I participated in some CORE activities, and I was put on the associate list, I guess. But I haven't been around for quite some time. All of a sudden this guy asked me if I'd like to become an active member. I was surprised, since I hadn't been around for so long".

Robin Standish: "Do you have any idea why you were put on the active list just now?"

Roger Wheaton: "Well, it seems this whole group wanted me in, so they just called me. I guess they figure I'll be voting with them --for Julius-- since they got me in and all".

Signed: [illegible]

Witnessed: [illegible]

Internal CORE Business: Not for Release to the Press

#36 and #37

We, the undersigned, husband and wife, joined the Washington chapter of CORE at the same time. We paid our dues at the same time, we have attended the same meetings of the housing committee and general membership, we have participated in the same direct action projects. I, Lee Charles, am not recorded as an active member. I, Gerald Charles, am on the membership (active) list. Despite a complaint to the membership chairmen no relief to my greivance has been promised or given.

May 2, 1964

Signed

Lenora Charles

Gerald T. Charles

I, THOMAS H. PLOSS, CO-CHAIRMAN OF WASHINGTON CORE'S HOUSING COMMITTEE, PERSONALLY NOTED TO THE MEMBERSHIP COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN THAT BOTH MR. & MRS. CHARLES HAD, IN MY ESTIMATION, QUALIFIED AS ACTIVE MEMBERS, AND WAS ASSURED BY THE MEMBERSHIP COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN ON THIS DATE (ON OR ABOUT MARCH 1, 1964) THAT BOTH MR. & MRS. CHARLES WOULD BE INCLUDED IN THE ACTIVE MEMBERSHIP LIST.

Thomas H. Ploss

MAY 3, 1964

Internal CORE Business: Not for Release to the Press

In August 1963 I joined Washington CORE. I have attended most membership meetings, have participated in a majority of action projects, and have been a member of the Employment and Housing Committees since this time. I have missed two membership meetings in the past several months. I have participated in the picket lines on 3 of the last 5 action projects of Washington CORE. At no time has there been any reason, consistent with the Constitution of the Chapter, for my name to be dropped from the active membership list, to my knowledge. The Chairman of the Membership Committee and the Recording Secretary admitted that an "error" had been made when my name was dropped from this list about 2 months and a half ago. They assured me that the "error" would be corrected. My name is still not to be found on the list of active members and I have thus been deprived of my vote at the last two meetings.

May 1, 1964
Date

Arthur B. Rosen

May 1, 1964
Date

/Witnessed/ Alan H. Bakelman

#41

Internal CORE Business: Not for Release to the Press

"On April 3, 1964, I, Naomi Ettis, asked Dolores Pelham, the recording secretary, for the addresses and telephone numbers of the new people who had been added to the active membership list. She gave me the addresses of these people. When I asked for the telephone numbers, she stated that she did not have them because all of these names were on the Associate lists, and that she never took telephone numbers for the Associate members."

"All the names which I was inquiring about were names which had been read off at the March 31st meeting as being people who were Active members. These people were thus permitted to vote."

Naomi F Ettis

Naomi Ettis

4-4-64

Internal CORE Business; Not to be Released to the Press

April 20, 1964 #42

RE:

Mrs. Carolyn Stewart
1303 Congress Street, S.E.
Washington, D.C.

561-3465

Telephone conversation. Mrs. Stewart indicated that she has not been an active Washington CORE member since last Fall because she has been busy with the selling of her house and the move into an apartment as well as with other personal matters. She had been an active member of Washington CORE for several years as well as being active with other Civil Rights groups for many years. Mrs. Stewart indicated that she had not actively participated in the last five action projects: Safeway, Voter Registration, Naylor Apartments, Hecht Company, Trenton Park.

I, Sheila Machlis, made this telephone call in my capacity as a member of the Information & Communications Committee. This telephone call was made in the course of regular Committee business.

Sheila Machlis
Sheila Machlis

Naomi Eftis
Naomi Eftis
Chairman

Essay Reviews

EDUCATION VOUCHERS by the Center for the Study of Public Policy. *Cambridge, Massachusetts. Final Report, December 1970. 348 pp.*

PRIVATE WEALTH AND PUBLIC EDUCATION by John E. Coons, William H. Clune III, and Stephen D. Sugarman. *Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1970. 520 pp. $12.50.*

AN ESSAY ON ALTERNATIVES IN EDUCATION by Everett Reimer. *Cuernavaca, Mexico: Centro Intercultural der Documentacion, 1970. 89 pp.*

Reforming the financing and administration of public education may be an important step in reforming education itself. But no administrative schemes—community control, state-wide financing, revenue sharing, performance contracting, or vouchers—are panaceas. Voucher plans, which would give parents chits or scrip worth a certain amount of money to "spend" for their children's education at any public or private school, have received a good deal of attention recently, as a result of the release of the CSPP report and the possibility that a field test in one community will soon be funded by the Office of Economic Opportunity. The strange collections of people who have lined up on both sides of the voucher debate illustrate an important fact: inherently, vouchers are neither radical nor conservative. They can be espoused, for different purposes, by such different people as Milton Friedman, white southerners, and Ivan Illich.

Reading *Education Vouchers* in conjunction with *Private Wealth and Public Education* and *An Essay on Alternatives*[1] raises broad questions about the use of administrative and

[1] This essay is the first draft of a book on Alternatives in Education which will be published commercially in 1971. It is to be the subject of a seminar at Cuernavaca during the spring of 1971, during which the ideas in the essay will be further developed. In this review, the essay is discussed primarily as its ideas relate to voucher proposals. It is inappropriate to review a first draft, and I do not attempt to do so. (Reimer's book is paginated by chapters. The citation, "p. 1/2," refers to page two of chapter one. All references are given in this form.)

Harvard Educational Review Vol. 41 No. 1 February 1971

financial mechanisms to work toward a more equitable distribution of educational resources and a more diverse and flexible set of educational offerings.[2] *Education Vouchers* is basically a practical document, which suggests policies and procedures for establishing a voucher system which would accomplish some redistribution of resources and would provide some choice among schools for parents. The proposed system would allow vouchers to be "spent" at any school meeting minimum state requirements. Schools would be forbidden to charge tuition in addition to the value of the voucher. The vouchers of the poor would be worth more to a school than the vouchers of the rich, thus encouraging schools both to enroll more poor children and perhaps even to spend more on their education.

Vouchers and Equality

Equality of Educational Opportunity is an overworked and probably meaningless term. Coleman showed to most people's satisfaction that the amount of resources devoted to a child's schooling has little effect on his performance. But equality of opportunity apart from concrete resources cannot be defined, much less provided; and equality of performance is a goal few would consider practical or even desirable. Educational resources are at present distributed inequitably. Reallocation from the rich to the poor is certainly a necessary, though few would argue a sufficient, step in efforts to reduce social class biases in education.

Private Wealth provides an impressive analysis of the present inequities in educational spending, before going on to outline an "apparatus for justice." Education is now financed primarily by local property taxes, supplemented by state and federal funds. Because some local school districts are more wealthy than others, equal efforts by the residents—as manifested in equal tax rates—may result in extremely unequal funds available per pupil. Inequalities in wealth are compounded by the fact that certain districts, notably

[2] The issues of redistribution of resources and provision of diversity and choice are not, of course, the only aspects of the voucher debate. The most public discussion has been generated by the questions of segregation and of aid to religious schools. The voucher plan proposed by *Education Vouchers* includes procedures for preventing discrimination and a lottery admissions system to insure equal access to desirable schools. The authors of the report expect that these procedures will not produce any more racial and social class segregation than the present system, and may well produce considerably less. The religious issue depends primarily on the courts' interpretation of the first amendment and various state statutes, which are now being reviewed in the context of certain states' purchase of services legislation. Presumably these two issues can be settled by regulation or ruling by the courts. Another source of opposition to vouchers, and the largest stumbling block to a field study, is the organized education lobby—NEA and AFT. Their opposition is partly self-interested, in that it may be harder to bargain with individual voucher schools than with a centralized district. However, their main objections seem to be ideological—that a voucher system would "destroy the public schools." They do not seem to have carefully considered the possibility that this might be a good thing.

cities, may need to spend a larger proportion of their tax income on other services than schools, for example higher costing police and fire services.[3]

State aid plans, which return some portion of state revenues to local districts, have not significantly reduced inequalities among districts. Some state aid plans use flat grants, which provide equal per pupil subsidies to all districts. Although these plans may raise the absolute level of per pupil spending in poor districts, they do almost nothing about the relative levels of spending in rich and poor districts. Other state aid plans, called "foundation plans," establish a basic level of per pupil expenditures for the state, and then supplement local revenues in order to bring district expenditures up to that level. Such plans are more equalizing than flat grant plans, but there is one major limitation, their tendency to be set at approximately the average per pupil expenditure for the state. This means that perhaps half the districts in the state are still able to spend more than the others, since no foundation plan in any state involves taking money away from rich districts. Setting the foundation high enough so that no district will want to exceed it is possible (it has been done in Utah) but is probably politically impossible in states which have a greater range in the wealth of districts and a greater desire for diversity in educational offerings.

Deciding what to do about inequities is not so easy as documenting their existence, and neither *Private Wealth* nor *Education Vouchers* offers completely satisfactory answers. *Private Wealth* proposes that the state take over the financing of education and distribute its revenues to districts or to families on the basis of the effort they are willing to expend in support of education, as evidenced by the rate of tax they are willing to pay. *Education Vouchers* assumes that much of the financing of education will remain at the local district level, supplemented by state and federal funds. Its system would distribute the revenues to schools, on the basis of their pupils' family income, with schools getting more money for poor pupils than for rich. In considering these plans, three questions must be examined: 1) at what level should revenues be collected and aggregated for equitable distribution? 2) to what units should the revenues be distributed? 3) according to what criteria should distribution occur?

If economic equalization is the criterion, it is clear revenues should be collected and aggregated for equitable distribution to the highest level at which it is administratively and politically possible. *Private Wealth* assumes that for the present this is the state level, although mention is made of the desirability of federal equalizing of state wealth. *Education Vouchers* does not consider the question in any detail. Its reliance on district financing, supplemented by state and federal funds, takes inadequate account of Coons'

[3] This is an extremely important cause of unequal spending on schools. Inequalities in the wealth of districts are, as a matter of fact, almost uncorrelated with inequalities in the income of residents due to odd distributions of commercial and industrial property. This fact makes the calculation of equitable formulas for distributing funds somewhat more complicated than Coons allows. Effort would have to be calculated in terms of taxation rates for schools, not general taxation rates, to be fair.

analysis of the limitations of existing state "foundation plans" and the failures of Title I.

Private Wealth, Education Vouchers, and *An Essay on Alternatives* agree that revenue should be distributed to the smallest unit which is administratively and politically possible. *Private Wealth* first discusses equalizing by districts, allowing each district to determine the level of taxation it is willing to impose upon itself and the type of educational offerings it desires. In a later section of the book, and in an article proposing equalizing legislation,[4] however, Coons suggests that the family is the more appropriate unit for making such choices. *Education Vouchers* concurs; *An Essay on Alternatives* suggests that the individual, especially as he grows older, should have the power to choose his own education. Advocates of community control (and NEA/AFT) argue with this "answer" and raise the important issue of where the locus of educational decision-making should be. Whether the family or the individual knows what is "best" is unclear, although the present state of education indicates that their judgments can hardly be worse than those now made by the professionals and the state.

The question of criteria for distributing resources is more adequately analyzed in *Education Vouchers* than in *Private Wealth.* Coons *et al.* assume that effort, i.e., what percentage of its income a family is willing to sacrifice for education, ought to determine resource allocation. *Education Vouchers* examines this and other criteria before arriving at its own suggestion: need defined as family income. The first criterion considered in the analysis is wealth: this is the basis for the present distribution of resources. Rich districts spend more; rich parents can, if they wish, send their children to expensive private schools. A voucher system which could be supplemented by private funds would have the same effect. The model is rejected by both Coons and CSPP. A second possibility is equality; each child would receive a voucher worth the same amount. However, this criterion does not take into account the special needs of students whom the public schools find more difficult or more unpleasant to educate. This model is rejected by *Education Vouchers* because it does not take these needs into account. It is rejected by *Private Wealth* because it limits the choice of schools offered to parents—they cannot choose schools which spend more or less than the established level. The effort criterion is examined and rejected by *Education Vouchers* because it would discriminate against those children whose parents were uninterested in education. The fourth criterion, and that adopted by *Education Vouchers,* is "need." Its proposals would make the vouchers of the poor worth more than those of the rich. Although income does not define *educational* need, the more relevant measures (e.g., IQ and behavior characteristics) are almost impossible to apply and tend to correlate with income for those groups of children for whom it is important. (See analysis in Chapter 7 of the Final Report.)

Any voucher proposal ought to be examined carefully in the light of all three of these

[4] John E. Coons, "Recreating the Family's Role in Education" in *Inequality in Education,* Harvard Center for Law and Education, March 16, 1970.

questions, since choice of the wrong levels or the wrong criteria for distribution could exacerbate rather than alleviate present inequities in resource allocation. "An unregulated voucher system could be the most serious setback for the education of disadvantaged children in the history of the United States" (*Education Vouchers*, p. 17).

Vouchers and Alternatives to Schools

Thus far we have considered the question of allocation of "educational resources" without defining the term or asking which individuals and groups ought to be considered legitimate providers of resources. The commonly accepted assumption is that educational resources are those things provided by and located in schools. Although a moment's thought leads to the conclusion that books, television, and big brother taking the kid for a walk are also educational, funds for education continue to be allotted solely to schools.

It is now familiar practice for schools to try to make their curricula more "relevant" and more "meaningful" by utilizing a diversity of materials and experiences to supplement the teacher and the text. More and more schools incorporate audio-visual materials, programmed instruction, games, and field trips into the child's learning experience.

Reimer's book, *An Essay on Alternatives in Education,* extends this principle by examining the concept of educational resources apart from the institution of the school. He argues, based on experience in underdeveloped countries, that the only way to provide *education* for all is to provide it outside of *schools.* He says, "No country in the world can afford the education its people demand in the form of schools" (p. 1/2). The cost of building high-quality schools for all in under-developed countries is a prohibitive diversion of resources from other services. The problem exists even in the United States, in a somewhat different form: "Continued attempts to supply the demand for college study in the United States will condemn the black and rural minorities to an indefinite wait for an adequate education" (p. 1/2).

The historical response to the problem has been to school the elite, excluding others by more or less subtle mechanisms. Tracking, evaluation procedures, testing, and differential curricula exist along with differential drop-out rates and high correlation of academic achievement and social class. But the problem of the schools is not only that they do not provide for all: they do not provide a proper education for anyone. "We need alternatives to schools not only so that all men can share in education, but even more so that men can learn freely what they need to know for their secular salvation" (p. 1/6).

Schools now perform, according to Reimer, four social functions: custodial care, social-role selection, indoctrination, and "education"—development of skills and knowledge. The first three functions conflict with the fourth, and result in the school's being a truly inefficient institution for education. The custodial care provided by the schools is extraordinarily expensive and diverts resources from education. Ironically, the supply of custodial care creates its own demand: "Schools provide child-care for younger children which

they prevent older children from supplying" (p. 2/1). The school's function of carrying out social-role selection conflicts directly with its educative function. Continual evaluation and sorting, while useful for stratification, is detrimental to motivation. Training is carried on inefficiently, in school vocational programs rather than on the job; education becomes elitist. Indoctrination is harmful in that the school teaches that the teacher is the source of knowledge and must be pleased; that "learning" is carried on in an uninteresting and orderly way, according to a fixed schedule; and that docility and conformity lead to success.

The schools' monopoly of what we define as educational resources results in inefficient use, because they are diverted to other functions which conflict in many ways with that of education. Separating the concept of educational resources from that of schools leads us to consider new ways of performing the functions now performed by schools, and to consider whether the functions now performed by schools ought to be performed at all. Reimer proposes that we search for alternative institutions for performing the function of education: "Alternatives must be more economical than schools, cheap enough so that everyone can share in them. They must also, however, be more effective so that lower costs do not imply less education . . . The schools system must not be replaced by another dominant system; alternatives must be plural . . . Education should not be separated from work and the rest of life, but integrated with them. Educational environments should be protective only to an unavoidable degree. Education should not, primarily, prepare for something else nor be a by-product of something else. It should be a self-justified activity designed to help man gain and maintain control of himself, his society and his environment" (p. 6/1).

Let us imagine vouchers which were not just for school, but for education. We might envision a lifetime account for each individual equal to the average amount now spent on schools. The vouchers could be spent at any time during a person's life for the use of a wide variety of educational resources organized in diverse ways. The account might be used for renting instructional materials for use in the home, or for paying the teacher of a neighborhood-organized mini-school. A group of families might get together and buy math materials or simulation games. A young adolescent might use part of his account to buy a place as a research assistant and trainee in a scientific laboratory. He might himself be paid for accompanying younger children on exploratory nature walks.

The job of a "board of education" under such a system would be to organize resources. This could not be left to chance, because sophisticated instructional technology should not be abandoned in favor of "learning at mother's knee." The board would operate a library of books, films, records, programmed materials, games, etc., for use in homes and neighborhood centers. It could recruit adults to teach reading, to utilize young assistants in an office or lab, to conduct seminars on music appreciation, or simply to walk and talk with children. It could match available adults with children who desired a particular kind of education, and could provide space and materials for their use.

The voucher plans discussed above tackle one problem in the allocation of educational

resources—to provide reasonably equal access for all. Following the proposals of Reimer, they might be broadened to tackle another problem—to provide resources for efficient education, both within and outside of school:

> Thus, even the first step in equalizing educational opportunity among social classes requires an allocation of educational resources outside the school system. The only ways of making sure that poor children get even their fair share of public funds for education are either to segregate them completely in schools of their own or to give the money directly to them. The first of these alternatives has been tried and failed. The second provides a key to the allocation of all educational resources (p. 9/7).
>
> Concrete alternatives to schools neither can nor should be specified. To do so would violate the most important principle stated above, namely that control of educational resources should be in the hands of the persons seeking to learn. Only a few general principles should modify this control, and these to insure that educational resources are as plentiful and as well distributed as possible. These principles are easily summarized. Educational time and space and the objects and human resources required for education should be as broadly defined as possible, as nearly identical with all human time and space, all objects and all people. Public resources for education should be equally shared by and under the control of individual learners (p. 9/9).

Neither the Coons nor the CSPP plan envisions "education vouchers" in Reimer's sense. It is possible, of course, that "schools" will be defined very loosely by whatever agency has the responsibility for determining who is eligible to cash vouchers. In this situation, vouchers might be a first step in education's moving out of the schools and into more diverse settings.

Vouchers have the potential for working a radical change on the educational system by challenging its procedures for defining and allocating the resources people can use to learn. But they will certainly not fulfill this potential without a corresponding change in society's attitudes toward education and toward the economic and social institutions which utilize the stratification system of the schools. Thus, the important question for those interested in substantial change is a tactical one: are vouchers likely to help or hinder necessary changes in attitudes?

Several questions must be considered. The first is how a voucher system is likely to work, once put into operation. Will procedures be incorporated into the system and enforced which improve the present distribution of resources and insure more equal access to "desirable" schools? Will "schools" be defined broadly by those determining eligibility, or will even more restrictions than now exist be imposed? What will the tendency of the voucher administration be over the long run—will it become more regulatory and more centralized than when it started, or more free? Will the politics involved in passing enabling legislation for a voucher system mitigate all its good features?[5]

[5] It is impossible to say much about these questions although California's experience with a voucher bill, The Elementary Demonstration Scholarship Act of 1970 (Assembly Bill #2471),

A second question is whether the free enterprise model is an appropriate one for public services. Vouchers are being considered for financing not only education but also such diverse services as day care, housing, medical care, and transportation. Questions can be raised in each area about the efficiency of competition, the dangers of inappropriate advertising, and the tendency for private enterprise to concentrate on profits rather than quality services. It is certainly possible that many of the dangers can be avoided by intelligent regulation. It is also possible that there are subtle dangers which have not yet been considered, for example, a tendency to reinforce certain general attitudes toward public services. Vouchers imply that all services should be paid for by individuals; free provision of services implies that some things belong to the community and are free for use by all. Deciding which attitude set might be more healthy for our future well-being is extremely difficult.

A more specific question is whether a voucher system would be abused by profit-makers. The experiences of colleges and private schools suggests that the control of education by big business equipped with advertising and manipulation of public opinion in search of profits may not be a danger, although the issue demands careful consideration before a scheme is enacted. It is possible (although perhaps unnecessary, as the profit margins of colleges show us) to confine voucher cashing privileges to non-profit institutions. It is equally possible, however, that blurring the distinction between private enterprise and public service may be useful. Education and housing, in our tradition, are both public and private. They are public in that the community feels a responsibility to provide them for its members; they are private in that they affect the well-being of the individual and ought, in some way, to be under the control of the individual. Vouchers may provide a way for the federal government, which has the best apparatus for collecting revenues on a progressive scale, to put these revenues in the hands of those who need them. The federal government itself seems to be notoriously inefficient at administering social services; revenue sharing with lower levels of government has not solved the problem. Putting the money for services in the hands of the people, with power to choose among various providers of services might, with proper regulation, be a flexible and powerful mechanism for income redistribution and for imaginative approaches to public service.

The third question is whether supporting a voucher plan is a good tactic for bringing about change in education. Many would argue, along the lines outlined above, that vouch-

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provides some clues. The draft legislation waived state requirements on class size, curriculum, minimum schoolday, and certification requirements for voucher schools. It excluded profit-making schools, but allowed religious ones. It required public access to financial and administrative records, and periodic reports on the progress of pupils as determined by standardized tests. It also required that schools "offer a comprehensive course of study in the basic skill areas of reading; mathematics; and the English language, whether as a second language or the language of instruction; "and that they prohibit instruction in unconstitutional areas, such as the violent overthrow of the United States or California." The bill was supported by Ronald Reagan. It was killed in committee by the Masons.

ers are a positive step in the direction of reforming the educational system. There are also those who argue that voucher financing is merely a way of shoring up a failing school system, which needs to be abolished in toto and replaced with a flexible system of educational alternatives. Others oppose vouchers because they do not do the whole job of redefining and reallocating educational resources. Such positions are not merely the manifestation of a "revolutionary" as opposed to an "evolutionary" approach to social change. Individual analysis of the empirical issues in the context of a theory of social change may lead to different positions by thoughtful men as well as by self-interested groups. Deciding "whose side are you on" is not so easy as it looks.

MARY JO BANE*
Harvard University

CRISIS IN THE CLASSROOM by Charles E. Silberman. *New York: Random House, 1970. 552 pp. $10.00.*

Over the recent decades our ambition to fashion society in the shape of our values has swollen. We no longer accept society as a given, as a pre-existing state of nature. We view it as an arrangement, one which *we* can disassemble and then rearrange. We seek not merely to reform but to transform the relations among the races, the classes, the nations; we seek to deeply affect people's smoking, drug use, drinking, and eating habits, as well as to fundamentally change their education. Our economic, political, and intellectual capacity to affect these changes has increased, but much more slowly than our ambitions. We are now learning, as recent discussions of the "peace dividend" indicated, the full measure of this disparity between ambition and resources. Even if the war is finally terminated and the SALT talks do succeed, there apparently will be available only $15 to $20 new billions per annum for domestic reforms, which require at least $60 to $100 billions. As a nation, it seems, we are much more inclined to talk reform than to display the political will required to bring it about. In those domestic sectors where the nation does find the will and the resources, it frequently lacks the necessary know-how. The knowledge and skills needed to provide a *viable* plan for social engineering are still rudimentary. Frequently we are still guided by well meaning but inadequately conceptualized and poorly worked out blueprints, by semi-utopian programs of which Silberman's book is a recent example.

* In this issue, *HER* inaugurates a new policy of including in its book review section occasional reviews by members of its editorial board. Miss Bane, a doctoral candidate at HGSE, is a teacher in the Brookline public schools and has served as a consultant to the Center for the Study of Public Policy on the voucher project.

STATEMENT OF CHAIRMAN TO PEPCO AND WASHINGTON GAS LIGHT CO.

In July of last year, Senator Thomas J. Todd, Chairman of the U. S. Senate Subcommittee to Investigate Juvenile Delinquency, introduced a bill in the Senate to prohibit racial or religious discrimination in employment in the District of Columbia. At the time, he cited statistics showing approximately 13,000 youths between the ages of 16 and 20 out of school and out of work here. He said, "The simple fact is that the Washington labor market is ruthlessly segregated in many fields, and colored people have been denied equal access to virtually all fields."

Even earlier, Dr. James B. Conant, internationally renowned scientist and educator, in a study of the educational problems of metropolitan areas, indicated that the increasingly large number of youths without adequate training in job skills and without hope of meaningful employment now accumulating in our cities constitute an explosive potential in these communities. More recently, Attorney General Robert Kennedy challenged the leaders of this city to face the racial implications of these problems squarely, in order to avert just such explosive possibilities as those referred to by Dr. Conant.

As responsible members of this community, we are here today because we believe it our duty to accept this challenge. Further, we believe that the public utility companies of this city, enjoying as they do a monopoly of services whose economic position is maintained at the expense of the entire community, have a special obligation as their response to the challenge to provide leadership in making job training and employment opportunities readily available to the Negro youth of this city.

The dominant and influential positions of these companies demand that they vigorously pursue policies designed to create an economic atmosphere in the District of Columbia in which Negro job seekers will feel free to apply for any and all available jobs for which they can qualify or be trained. Moreover, we believe this can only be accomplished by a merit-hiring program that gives preferential treatment to Negro job seekers, particularly in training programs, and places Negro personnel in positions of high visibility requiring direct contact with the public.

This meeting is an indication of the seriousness of our concern that immediate steps be taken to give concrete reality to "merit hiring," and to end policies that are, primarily, verbal declarations of good intentions to indicate "tokenism" in employment that remains ruthlessly segregated and racially discriminatory.

*****

THE
PEPCO Employment
Affair

IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

[illegible] MC PUTTER CORP. [illegible], [illegible], [illegible], [illegible] D.C., Plaintiff	
v.	Civil Action No. 32[illegible]-62
[illegible] CORPORATION [illegible] LTD. [illegible] ON, [illegible] OF [illegible], [illegible] Appellate [illegible], N. E. [illegible], D. C., Defendants	

ORDER GRANTING PLAINTIFF'S MOTION
FOR PRELIMINARY INJUNCTION

Upon consideration of the plaintiff's Motion for a [illegible] - [illegible] injunction in the above-entitled case and upon full [illegible] [illegible]ation of the sworn testimony of witnesses in open court [illegible] the [illegible] of the Motion on October 22, 1962, the Court [illegible] following:

FINDINGS OF FACT

1. That on the evening of October 8, 1962, the defendant [illegible], president of defendant Washington Chapter [illegible] Congress of Racial Equality, in a conversation with Clay [illegible], Reporter for The Evening Star newspaper of Washington, D. C., [illegible] that 400,000 "We Believe in merit hiring" stamps [illegible] distributed to persons in the Washington, D. C. area [illegible] these persons would be asked to affix the stamps to the [illegible] envelopes which they would return to plaintiff.

2. That at 2:00 P.M. on October 13, 1962, the defendant [illegible] in a conversation with Wallace Terry, a re[illegible]

for The Washington Post newspaper of Washington, D. C., said that the defendant Washington Chapter of the Congress of Racial Equality, supported by other organizations, planned to distribute on October 15, 1962 some 400,000 "We believe in merit hiring" stamps with instructions that the stamps be affixed to the stubs that are returned to plaintiff and that he further said that "our aim is to cause these companies undue difficulty in getting their accounts posted."

3. That plaintiff, through its officers, prior to 6:00 P.M. Saturday, October 13, 1962 was advised of the aforesaid statements made by defendant Robson.

4. That the plaintiff receives payment of approximately 15,000 bills daily, the said payments being accompanied by the billing stubs heretofore mentioned.

5. That the billing stubs in question are the property of the plaintiff and are not capable of having the aforementioned stamps affixed to them without impairing their usefulness in accomplishing the purpose for which they were designed, that is the machine processing of customer accounts of the plaintiff.

6. That the affixing of the aforementioned stamps to the billing stubs would constitute a destruction of the plaintiff's property.

7. That should the stamps be affixed to the billing stubs that are remitted to the company by its customers it would disrupt the internal business operations of the plaintiff in that:

(a) the orderly processing of accounts would be impaired;

(b) that a billing stub with a stamp attached would cause the plaintiff's I.B.M. machines to jam and thus become inoperative;

(c) that as presently organized the plaintiff could not process the bills manually and still maintain the posting of accounts on a daily basis should

its customers affix the aforementioned stamps to the billing stubs;

(d) that the aforementioned plan of the defendants if carried out would result in the complete disruption of the plaintiff's billing procedure;

(e) that substantial and irreparable damage would be done to the billing stubs, machinery, and the business operations of plaintiff.

8. That the damages suffered by the plaintiff if defendants' plans were to be carried out would be impossible to ascertain.

9. That there was no showing whatsoever that defendants would suffer any substantial injury by the granting of the relief that plaintiff has asked for.

10. That the Metropolitan Police Department of Washington, D. C. is aware of the proposed actions of the defendants and should these proposed actions be carried out, the aforementioned Police Department would not be in a position to protect the property of the plaintiff.

THEREFORE, the Court makes the following:

CONCLUSIONS OF LAW

1. That unlawful acts have been threatened and will be committed unless restrained.

2. That substantial and irreparable injuries to plaintiff's property will follow.

3. That as to each item of relief granted, greater injury will be inflicted upon plaintiff by denial of relief than will be inflicted upon the defendants by the granting of relief.

4. That plaintiff has no adequate remedy at law.

5. That the public officers charged with the duty to

protect plaintiff's property are unable to furnish adequate protection.

THEREFORE, it is by the Court this _____ day of October, 1962,

ORDERED that the Motion of the plaintiff for a preliminary injunction be and the same is hereby granted; and it is further

ORDERED that the defendants Washington Chapter of the Congress of Racial Equality and Julius W. Hobson, their agents, representatives and associates, be and they are hereby restrained and enjoined until further order be entered herein, from distributing "We believe in merit hiring" stamps with instructions to affix them to the portion of the I.B.M. cards to be returned to the plaintiff; and it is further

ORDERED that the injunctive undertaking heretofore filed by the plaintiff shall apply to this order.

_____
Judge

CERTIFICATE OF SERVICE

I hereby certify that a copy of the foregoing Order granting Plaintiff's Motion for Preliminary Injunction was mailed, postage prepaid, this _____ day of October, 1962, to Scupi and [illegible], Esqs., 600 F Street, N. W., Washington, D. C., attorneys for [illegible], and Robert V. Murray, Chief of Metropolitan Police Department, 300 Indiana Avenue, N. W., Washington, D. C.

/s/ Thomas A. Flannery
Attorney for Plaintiff

Chronology of Events
Relative to
Community Organization Negotiations with Potomac Electric
and Washington Gas Light Company

City Life

Court Blocks Campaign Of CORE Against Pepco

By Wallace Terry
Staff Reporter

District Court Judge Alex getting their accounts posted
ander Holtzoff yesterday Hobson said
issued a temporary restraining but the Rev. Dr. E. Franklin
order blocking a harassment Jackson, local NAACP branch
campaign in the Negro com- president, said his organiza-
munity against the Potomac tion supported the campaign
Electric and Power Co.

The order enjoined the stamps would be kept off the
Washington branch of CORE
merit bill envelopes. I am against foul-
their Pepco bills when they
had them in

The Washington Gas Light
o is also a target of the cam-

hearing will be held Oct. 22 to decide whether to make it

Judge Holtzoff said CORE has the right to distribute the

sentatives of a dozen organi-
zations, including CORE

Efforts Cited

with officials of both compan-

president of

to job discrimination charges

fair employment and promo-

were being trained for high-
level positions.

Dunn Sees No Need

Gas Light offered to meet

Robert J. Keith, assistant to
of Gas Light,
said
Hobson was agreed at avoiding

Mr. Lewis, representing Mr. Tucker of the Urban League, gave information about the employment of Negroes by P.E.P. Co. and the Washington Gas Light Co., and expressed the opinion that these companies are not practicing merit hiring or moving toward the establishment of such a program at the same speed as the Chesapeake and Potomac Telephone Co. However, Mr. Lewis stated that as the Urban League is not a direct-action organization, he could not commit the Urban League to participation in the undertaking. All of the other organizations pledged their full support of the campaign to achieve full employment for Negroes in the electric and gas companies, and to continuing observation of the progress being made by the telephone company with a view to including it in the campaign if necessary. Bishop Smallwood E. Williams was elected to chair the Bargaining Committee.

On Tuesday, October 9, 1962, the following telegram was received from F. W. Amadon, Jr., Director of Personnel, Washington Gas Light Company:- (See Attachment #3)

On October 10, Mr. Hobson of C.O.R.E., telephoned Mr. Amadon and sought to arrange a meeting between Mr. Amadon and the Bargaining Committee for 6:00 p.m. that evening. Mr. Amadon refused to meet with the Bargaining Committee but offered to meet with Mr. Hobson alone. Mr. Hobson refused the invitation, pointing out that this was a community problem and more than one representative of the community should be present.

On the same day(Wednesday, October 10) the following telegram was received from R. Roy Dunn, President, Potomac Electric Power Company:- (See Attachment #4)

Following the conversation with Mr. Amadon of the Gas Light Co., Mr. Hobson telephoned Mr. Walter Lewis of the Urban League and asked if the League had figures on the employment of Negroes at the gas and electric companies which could be made available to the Bargaining Committee. Mr. Lewis stated he had some material which Mr. Hobson could have. At noon that day (October 10) at the League office, Mr. Hobson received the attached statement (see Attachment #5) and noting the date, October 9, on information purporting to indicate the utilization of non-white employees by the Potomac Electric Power Company, asked when the Urban League had gotten the information. Mr. Lewis then stated that a representative of the Urban League had on Tuesday, October 9, had a conference with P.E.P. CO.. At this time, Mr. Hobson expressed the opinion that it would have been cooperative had he and the Bargaining Committee been informed that such a meeting was to take place. Mr. Lewis stated that the League meeting with P.E.P.CO. was a result of the "M & M agreement" and had nothing to do with the larger Community undertaking. Later, in a telephone conversation with Mr. Tucker, Mr. Hobson observed that the fact that the Bargaining Committee had not been informed of the Urban League-P.E.P. Co. meeting gave the appearance that the League was not acting in the interest of the larger community. Mr. Tucker reiterated that the meeting of the League representative and P.E.P. Co. was a result of the "M&M agreement" and observed that this action (C.O.R.E. and the Community Organization efforts to negotiate with the utilities) could be considered going in behind the Urban League.

On Thursday, October 11, the Community organizations decided to make another attempt to arrange a meeting with Mr. Amadon of the gas company, to whom the following telegram was sent:-

Mr. F. W. Amadon, Director, Personnel
Washington Gas Light Company
1100 H Street, N. W.

We feel that the question of job discrimination is of vital importance to the entire community, and should be discussed

by the entire community. Thus, as community representatives, we extend to you one more invitation to talk about this problem.

The representatives of the organizations signing our first telegram to you will be assembled at the home of Bishop Smallwood Williams at 4720 16th Street, N. W. at 11:00 a.m. on Saturday October 13. We assemble for the expressed purpose of talking to you and your representatives. We cordially invite your presence.

Julius W. Hobson, Chairman
CORE

On Friday, October 12, Mr. Amadon replied to the invitation to meet community representatives as follows:- (See Attachment #5)

On Saturday, October 13, at 11:00 a.m., the following persons met at the home of Bishop Smallwood E. Williams:

Ruth B. Spencer, Negro Community Council
Warren W. Morse, Local #1, AFSCME, AFL-CIO
Carolyn H. Stewart, Negro Community Council
Wilbert C. Cole, National Capital Baptist Fellowship
Henry L. Dixon, D. C. Federation of Civic Associations
Flaxie M. Pinkett, Negro Community Council
E. Franklin Jackson, D. C. NAACP
George G. Fleming, Negro Community Council
Bishop Williams
John M. Thornton, National Capital Voters Association
H. Carl Moultrie, Negro Community Council and NAACP
Marion H. Jackson, National Council of Negro Women

At this meeting, after consideration of pertinent matters, it was decided that in view of the failure of the Potomac Electric Power Co. and the Washington Gas Light Co. to talk with the Bargaining Committee, C.O.R.E-Merit-Hiring Stamps were to be distributed and the Stamp Campaign would begin officially Monday, October 15, 1962. Out of deference to Reverend E. Franklin Jackson, President, NAACP, who reiterated his concern for the machinery of the companies, it was explained to him by an engineer and a former worker with I.B.M. equipment that the accounting process would be disrupted by affixing the stamps over the punch card holes but no damage would be done the machinery. However, all persons or organizations sharing Reverend Jackson's concern were to affix the stamps to the envelopes or some other part of the card. The meeting adjourned at 1:00 p.m., Saturday, October 13.

not true

At 2;00 p.m., Saturday, October 13, Mr. Wallace Terry of the Washington Post called Mr. Julius Hobson to inform him of the following statement given him by Reverend E. Franklin Jackson:- (See Attachment #6)

At 6:30 p.m., Saturday, October 13, a temporary restraining order, enjoining C.O.R.E. and Mr. Hobson from carrying out the stamp campaign pending a hearing on October 22, 1962, was signed by Judge Alexander Holtzoff of the U. S. District Court of the District of Columbia. This order was served on Mr. Hobson at his home at 8:30 p.m..

ATTACHMENT #1

CORE'S PROGRAM TO QUOTE STAMP OUT JOB DISCRIMINATION IN PUBLIC UTILITIES END QUOTE BEGINS FRIDAY OCTOBER 12 UNLESS DETAILED MEANINGFUL MERIT HIRING AGREEMENT REACHED BEFOREHAND. WE NOTE THAT CORE'S LETTERS OF OCTOBER 10, 1961 AND SEPTEMBER 26, 1962 HAVE NOT BEEN PROPERLY ANSWERED STOP SPEAKING FOR AN AROUSED COMMUNITY WE REQUEST A CONFERENCE SCHEDULED FOR WEDNESDAY OCTOBER 10.

CLASS OF SERVICE
This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION

TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS
DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LT = International Letter Telegram

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is LOCAL TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is LOCAL TIME at point of destination

[illegible]
GOVT PD WASHINGTON DC 8 417P EDT 1962 OCT 8 PM 5 19
[illegible]

[illegible] CHESTER [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
REGRET INABILITY TO ATTEND MEETING TONIGHT WILL TELEPHONE
[illegible] [illegible] BEING OUT OF [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
AND CANNOT SHARE IN THOSE ACTIVITY WHICH MAY BE CONSTRUED AS
MALICIOUS DESTRUCTION OF ELECTRONIC PROPERTY.

E FRANKLIN JACKSON PRESIDENT DC BRANCH NAACP.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

WESTERN UNION

TELEGRAM

SERVICEMAN, IN ADDITION FOR A NUMBER OF [illegible] HAVE
FILLED THE JOB OF MAINTENANCE MAN, WE WILL BE GLAD TO VISIT
WITH YOU AT ANY MUTUALLY CONVENIENT TIME TO DISCUSS THIS IMPORTANT
FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICES

[illegible] JR DIRECTOR OF PERSONNEL WASHINGTON NATIONAL CO.

[illegible]

W [illegible] SEMPER PRO PRO SE [illegible] DEVELOPMENT

JULIUS W HOBSON, CHAIRMAN [illegible]

WASHINGTON CHAPTER OF CONGRESS OF RACIAL

EQUALITY AND [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

ENGINEERING ON OCTOBER [illegible], [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

WITH YOU. PEPCO GIVES FULL CONSIDERATION TO ALL APPLICANTS

[illegible]

VACANCIES. WE ARE EMPLOYING DEGREES IN MANY DIFFERENT CAPACITIES,

OFFICE AND CRAFT, INCLUDING CONSTRUCTION AND MAINTENANCE [illegible],

OCCUPATIONS WHERE THEY [illegible] [illegible]

IN THE COURSE OF NORMAL PROGRESS [illegible] LEAD TO JOURNEYMEN.

AS YOU SUGGEST IS NEEDED

ATTACHMENT #5

WASHINGTON URBAN LEAGUE
626 Third Street, N. W.
Washington 1, D. C.
October 10, 1962

Notes on Utilization of nonwhite employees by:
Washington Gas Light Company, as of July 25, 1962
Potomac Electric Power Company, as of October 9, 1962

WASHINGTON GAS LIGHT COMPANY: According to company representatives, the Washington Gas Light Company employs approximately 2,450 workers, about 600 of whom are nonwhite. Approximately 277 nonwhite employees are in salary brackets above $5000 a year. Nonwhites function as maintenance men, construction inspectors, crane operators, bulldozer operators and pipe men. The Company has an approximate 9% turnover rate. Because of the specialized work, all new employees start at the unskilled level and are channelled into one or more operations.

Employees must belong either to the International Chemical Workers Union or the Office Workers International, both AFL-CIO. Strict observance of tenure and seniority rules governs promotions and eligibility for all job vacancies.

The Company has indicated its willingness to accept nonwhites in starting positions in crafts and office work. Emphasis would be placed on career minded young high school graduates, who could pass aptitude tests for prospective jobs as assistant servicemen.

POTOMAC ELECTRIC POWER COMPANY: According to company representatives, the company employs approximately 3600 employees, 350 of whom are nonwhite. Nonwhites are employed in 25 of the 40 divisions of the company.

Since July, the company has employed three nonwhite female clerk-typists and one male typist in four divisions previously all white. Nonwhites also have been recently assigned for the first time to the follwoing divisions: underground lines, street lights, substations and generating.

In the crafts there are four classes of workers: helpers, junior mechanics, maintenance mechanics B, and maintenance mechanics A. Most nonwhites are classified as helpers; two as junior mechanics; there are no nonwhites classified as maintenance mechanics.

The company states that for over a year nonwhite applicants have been given "preferential consideration," this policy continues currently, but company not certain how long it will. Company has a very small turnover in employees.

Oct 29, 1962 1,37 Negro Employee — $6,200 — Senior pipe man

1950 45% occupied jobs above Scale

1962 63 occupy jobs above this level

Industrial chemical unions - Negro vice pres

Negro overtime - men work in customer home

Journeyman gas fitter

Training program - Co reimburses for ½ of educ.

197 above Laborer

240 at Laborer level

240 - 5000+

240

530 - ~~Scholarship program~~

~~Start~~ Scholarship program

Expect 2 more - in jobs government maint. men

Meter loader & pipe meters or Inspectors

Recently admitted in Opra Union from meter loader.

Future plan to continue policy on the basis of merit hiring

! Any negroes in accounting section

meter loader + assistant service man

INTERNAL CORE BUSINESS: NOT TO BE RELEASED TO THE PRESS

Section I. UNDEMOCRATIC AND IRRESPONSIBLE ADMINSTRATION OF THE CHAPTER

A. Prevention of democratic discussion at meetings.

VIOLATION: Rule #12, CORE RULES for ACTION

> "Each member shall understand that all decisions on general policy shall be arrived at only through democratic discussion."

1. Arbitrary cutting off of debate even when it is apparent to the body that there are many who still wish to speak on a subject, or when the membership obviously feels that a subject has not been fully discussed.

Example: April 14, 1964 meeting: "... Mr Hobson stated to the body that he had been informed that a letter, allegedly signed by him, had been sent to Mrs. Rowena Rand asking her to come to...meeting. ... Mr. Hobson stated...he had never seen such a letter. ... Miss Marilyn Outlaw arose and stated that she had in her possession a letter signed by Mrs. Rand which would explain the situation. ...She was ruled out of order...Mr. Hobson then spoke angrily of forged letters... Miss Outlaw again arose...waving the letter and demanding that it be heard. Mr. Hobson stated...'the letter is not going to be read'. Then, rapidly, there was a motion for adjournment from the fron of the room, which was also rapidly seconded and passed by a small majority. With much dissention and disorder from the body because the meeting had been adjourned without completing the evening's business, Mr. Hobson re-convened the meeting..." (Exhibit #1: Statement by Shiela Machlis 4/21/64)

No demanded floor on matter of personal privilege - she was not involved so couldn't answer your question what happened, not clear what was involved, so?

"...several active members arose to address the body concerning the activities of... Mr. Hobson which were reported in the local papers. (..."ACT and...World's Fair stall-in.) ...All attempts to bring up the point were summarily dismissed with the chairman stating only that the newspapers had misquoted him...No comments permitted. Members who attempted to address the body were rudely cut off and the whole affair was handled in an arbitrary, non-democratic manner, in spite of the obviously important nature of the questions being raised." (Exhibit #2: Statement by Arthur S. Rosen 5/1/64)

What meeting?

all conclusions, no facts

... that the list of charges against

2. Permitting use of tabling motions to cut off debate on a subject that Mr. Hobson does not want discussed.

Example: March 31, 1964 meeting: "All discussion was cut off by the extensive and continuous use of tabling motions...No less than ten tabling motions were used effectively to squelch discussion at this meeting. The move to table has been used quite extensively at other meetins also (especially...in the last two months) denying members a chance to be heard and denying them clarity of issues."
(Exhibit #3 Statement of Thomas A. Yeager, April 6, 1964)

I charged time limit put on debate in Constitution of 2 hours, which was later extended

B. Conduct of Meetings.

The Washington CORE constitution under which this Chapter has been operating for the past few years states:

> (Article VIII QUORUM AND VOTING) Decisions of the group are to be made by majority vote unless otherwise stipulated in the Constitution. Parlimentary procedure is to be followed.

The Washington CORE constitution adopted March 31, 1964, states:

> (Article VI MEETINGS...Section 3) Parlimentary procedure shall be followed at regular membership and Executive meetings.

Mr. Hobson has consistently violated rules of parliamentary procedure in his conduct of general membership meetings. Following are illustrations:

1.. Adjournment of meetings without motion to curtail discussio

Not a CORE meeting - a nasty ne boycott

Example: March 18, 1964, meeting on school boycott, Odd Fellow Hall: "Typical of Mr. Hobson's demeanor when he is annoyed by someone trying to advance an idea he opposes was the way he adjourned the CORE meeting at the Odd Fellows Hall on March 18, 1964. ...When...questions reached the point where Mr. Hobson found ithard to field them he summarily adjourned the meeting without a motion or a vote."
(Exhibit #4: Statement by Ethelbert Haskins, 4/30/64)

2. Limiting agenda.

Example: April 28, 1964, meeting: The Chairman arbitrarily announced at the outset that the agenda would be limited to two items and that no other business would be permitted to be discussed. "At the CORE ... meeting of April 28,...I was recognized and rose to request that the list of charges against

Mr. Cardwell – [illegible] – Senior pipe man

the Chairman of Washington CORE be presented and discussed by the local Chapter. In response to a question by a member of the opposition, I stated that we hoped that local Chapter discussion could resolve the concerns and might well preclude our seeking intervention from the National Action Council. I was ruled out of order by the chairman, told that these matters "could not be discussed at the Chapter meeting, and invited to present our charges to the NAC. An effort to appeal the ruling of the chair was defeated."
(Appendix A, Letter to Farmer from 47 Washington CORE members April 30, 1964.)
See also Exhibit #4A, Statement by Ralph Fertig, April 30,1964

3. Omission of reading of minutes at several meetings.

Not Hobson's fault - an unskilled Treasurer elected by Body -

"In the year that I have been a CORE member, Treasurer's reports have been given to the body very infrequently. On these few occasions, the report was always incomplete and subject to questions. In response to these questions, the membership was always promised a thorough audit. Mr. Fred Kittrell, a CORE member and a CPA, was asked to assist in making an audit. He told me privately that the records were in such a mess that he was unable to do a decent job. The result of his audit was read to the body at a membership meeting in February and caused so much discussion that Mr. Hobson announde he would have a National CORE representative assist in an audit To date this audit has not been presented to the body."
(Exhibit #6 Statement by Marilyn Outlaw, May 1, 1964.)

5. Rude cutting off and interruption of members; accusations of disruption when they ask legitimate questions.

Example: March 18, 1964 meeting: "It was announced in the papers and on the radio that Washington CORE would have a school boycott April 20. My understanding is that this action was never voted by the membership. At the meeting of March 18 which was devoted to the subject of the school boycott, I asked Mr. Hobson whether this was correct. He responded by asking me whether I had come to heckle and adjourned the meeting."
(Exhibit #7 Statement by Jim Standish, April 30, 1964)

Mr. Hobson's views on parliamentary procedure were quoted recently in the Washington Evening Star 4/18/64. "Some of Mr. Hobson's critics charge he is undemocratic in the administration of his CORE office. 'You can't run a revolution with Roberts Rules of Order,' he pointed out."
(Appendix B)

FOR RELEASE: Automatic release: 6:30 p.m., EST, Monday, March 30, 1964

The Westinghouse Broadcasting Company

"WASHINGTON VIEWPOINT"

Produced by

The WBC Washington News Bureau

GUEST: Julius W. Hobson, Southeastern Regional Director of the Congress of Racial Equality, and Chairman of the CORE Washington, D. C., Chapter

INTERVIEWED BY: Ann M. Corrick, Assistant Chief, WBC Washington News Bureau
and
Pete Clapper, WBC Correspondent

(Please credit The Westinghouse Broadcasting Company - "Washington Viewpoint")

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1625 K Street, N. W.
Room #6
Washington, D. C.

WASHINGTON VIEWPOINT

MISS CORRICK: Good evening. This is Ann Corrick with Pete Clapper in Washington. The civil rights debate of 1964 now is formally underway in the Senate. It is expected to run weeks, or even months, before the legislation comes to a vote. With us on Washington Viewpoint tonight to discuss racial equal rights is Mr. Julius W. Hobson, Southeastern Regional Director of the Congress of Racial Equality and Chairman of the Washington, D. C. CORE Chapter.

Mr. Hobson, the pending bill which has bipartisan support, is the most sweeping civil rights bill to come before Congress in this century. It is designed to protect negro voting rights, eliminate racial discrimination in employment, public accommodations, education and federally-assisted programs, among other things. Do you believe the bill as it stands is strong enough?

MR. HOBSON: Well I believe that the bill as it stands is strong enough, because I am a believer in enforcement more so than I am in legislation. I do not oppose the bill, because I think that a piece of civil rights legislation is better than no legislation at all. But I think that in the United States we have a primary problem of law enforcement. Now this bill, of course, is a mandate of Congress, and we have a mandate from the Supreme Court--the decision of 1954. I don't know which mandate is stronger. But that has not been enforced. And it strikes me that if a mandate from the Supreme Court goes without enforcement at this point, that this bill itself may run into some of the very same difficulties that the Supreme Court decision does. I would support the legislation, but I see the bill as really giving the President

and the government of the United States the same power which it already has. The President can enforce the Supreme Court decision of '54 already. The right to vote is clearly defined under the Constitution already. The public accommodations section is also spelled out in the Constitution. It seems to me that it's good to have more legislation, but it seems to me we have enough laws on the books to deal with the racial problems of the United States, if they are enforced.

MISS CORRICK: Do you believe, Mr. Hobson, that our government as of now is equipped with the powers of enforcement that would be required under this bill? The bill would give the Justice Department new and rather broad powers, for instance, to go into the courts with civil rights cases. Is our judicial structure equipped to handle these things?

MR. HOBSON: Well, I think that they are, but the civil rights act of 1957, I believe, gives the Justice Department, for example, the right to prosecute in the cases of bombing. The act specifically states that where there is bombing in the South that the Justice Department may assume that the materials used were transported across state lines. Now there have been, in my home town, for example, Birmingham, Alabama, over thirty-five bombings, and the Justice Department has not--does not see fit, or does not interpret this bill as giving them the right to interfere. I think that the sections in the bill are admirable as they sound on paper. I'm a little worried about some of the litigation which this bill is going to impose upon a number of the negroes who are going to run into difficulty. It seems to be the same process

and the government of the United States the same power which it already has. The President can enforce the Supreme Court decision of 54 already. The right to vote is clearly defined under the Constitution already. The public accommodations section is also spelled out in the Constitution. It seems to me that it's good to have more legislation, but it seems to me we have enough laws on the books to deal with the racial problems of the United States. They are enforced.

MISS CORRICK: Do you believe, Mr. Hobson, that our government as it now is equipped with the powers of enforcement that would be required under this bill? The bill would give the Justice Department new and rather broad powers, for instance, to go into the courts with civil rights cases. Is our judicial structure equipped to handle these things?

MR. HOBSON: Well, I think that they are, but the civil rights section of 1957 I believe, gives the Justice Department, for example, the right to prosecute in the cases of bombing. The administration states that whenever there is bombing in the South that the Justice Department may question the materials used were transported across state lines. There have been in my home town, for example, Birmingham, Alabama, over three-hundred bombings, and the Justice Department has not chosen to use that provision of the bill as giving them the right to prosecute. I think that the provisions of the bill are adequate as they stand on paper. I'm somewhat worried about some of the provisions which this bill is going to impose upon a number of the courses who are going to run into difficulty. It seems to be the same problem

over and over. If you go into a restaurant in Alabama or Georgia the burden of proof is again on the person who can least afford to pay, namely, the person who is being discriminated against. And it comes down to a negro seeking a cup of coffee, who finds himself as a result of that having a case versus the entire state machinery of the state of Alabama. And it seems to me that if this could be eliminated, which the bill does not do, that this would be a step in the right direction. Another thing about that bill that I'm unhappy about, I think that you can't have civil rights without having civil liberties. And I'm very much concerned about the section in that bill which allows discrimination against atheists. I think that it's basic in our freedoms in this country that you must go to the church of your choice. But I would add to that that you have the right also to stay at home. And I cannot support a piece of legislation or that particular phase of this piece of legislation.

MISS CORRICK: Mr. Hobson, Dr. Martin Luther King of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference said that if the Southern filibuster against the civil rights bill goes much beyond the first of May, negroes will conduct what he calls direct action programs in Washington and elsewhere throughout the country. Would you join in those direct action programs, and do you believe that the May 1st target date is a reasonable time to cut off debate?

MR. HOBSON: Oh, I think it's a very reasonable time, and if the civil rights groups conduct direct action, I would certainly be the first to join in such direct action. I have been in discussion with some of the national people, and we have discussed in detail just what part Washington would play--the Washington

over and over. If you go into a restaurant in Alabama or Georgia the burden of proof is again on the person who can least afford to pay, namely, the person who is being discriminated against. And it comes down to a question of a [illegible] or [illegible]. [illegible] as a result of that [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] MARGINALIZATION [illegible] And it seems to me that it [illegible] could be eliminated, which the bill does not do, that this would be a step in the right direction. Another thing about that bill that I'm unhappy about I think that you can't have civil rights without having civil liberties. And I'm very much concerned about the section in that bill which allows discrimination against atheists. I think that is basic to our freedoms in this country that you must go to the church of your choice. But I would add to that that you have the right also to stay at home. And I cannot support a piece of legislation that particular phase of that piece of legislation.

MISS CORRICK: Mr. Hobson. Dr. Martin Luther King of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference said that if the Southern filibuster against the civil rights bill goes around beyond the Ides of May, Congress will consider that the usual [illegible] procedures of adjournment are unnecessary in this country. Would you say Mr. Hobson [illegible] that the May 1st target date is a reasonable time to cut off debate?

MR. HOBSON: Oh, I think it is a very reasonable time, and if the civil rights groups conduct direct action, I would certainly be the first to join in such direct action. I have been in discussion with some of the personal people who have [illegible] in direct [illegible] Washington would play. The Washington

groups, such as my chapter of CORE, and my region would play. I don't want to give the impression that I don't support that bill. I support it. But I see that bill, really, as not the millennium. I don't know what will change in race relations when that piece of legislation comes out. And I think that the public should be so informed. I think there should be somebody pointing out that this bill is not the millennium. It's a step in the right direction, of course, but it has in it certain faults which I think are quite blatant. One, for example, it attempts to define--to discuss segregation in terms of school integration by saying something to the effect that the schools systems do not have to have any kind of proportionate breakdown of race in the schools in order to be integrated. It seems to me that this gives the superintendent of the public schools in Birmingham the right to put one negro child in a school and say that it's integrated, under this particular bill. This is a detrimental part of that bill, I think.

MISS CORRICK: Pete Clapper.

MR. CLAPPER: Mr. Hobson, we will discuss in some detail a little later in the program your ideas about school integration. I wanted to discuss something we've already mentioned--that is, the direct action which is planned in connection with an extensive filibuster over the civil rights bill. You've said that you've already held meetings of the Congress of Racial Equality on what type of direct action might be taken. Can you give us some clues on what it will be, what it will amount to?

MR. HOBSON: Well, for example, we support a vigil. The Southern

Christian Leadership Conference is going to lead a prayer vigil here, and, of course, that will be supported by the Congress of Racial Equality and the NAACP and other groups. Also, aside from that, we will have what we call simultaneous filibuster sessions, at which time we will get celebrities and people with national reputations to talk while the filibuster is going on in the Senate. Up to this point, there has been no decision regarding civil disobedience, but if the filibuster continues beyond May 1st, I am one of the proponents of civil disobedience. I feel that there should be some civil disobedience practiced by the civil rights groups, if this filibuster goes beyond May 1st.

MISS CORRICK: Like what?

MR. HOBSON: Well, for example, I would propose that there be a march on the Hill, which is now prohibited under law. I would certainly propose that civil rights groups march on the Hill. I would propose that there be a sit in demonstration in the Congressmen's offices, who are filibustering, and this kind of, what I call, civil disobedience.

MR. CLAPPER: Isn't this actually dangerous to your movement, from the point of view of antagonizing the Senators and forcing them to try to legislate under pressure?

MR. HOBSON: I don't think so. I think the proponents of this bill are men with broad prospective, and they see the need to clean up race relations in the United States. I think the people who are against it are against it. I don't think that those who would be antagonized by this would vote for it if this did not happen. That has not been the history of legislation in Congress. It's

Christian Leadership Conference is going to lead a parade or rally here and of course, that will be supported by the Congress of Racial Equality and the NAACP and other groups. Also, as we learn that we will have what we call filibuster expert, at which time we will get cooperation and people will actually respond to talk until the filibuster is going on. Up to this point, there has been no minister requesting civil disobedience but if the filibuster continues beyond May 1st, I am sure of the preparation for civil disobedience. I feel that there should be some civil disobedience organized by the civil rights groups, if the filibuster goes beyond May 1st.

MRS. CORRICK: Like what?

MR. HOBBY: Well, for example, I would propose that there be a march on the Hill, which is now prohibited under law. I would certainly prepare that civil rights groups march on the Hill. I would propose that there be a rally in representation in the Congressional rotunda, when we filibuster, and this kind of, what I call, civil disobedience.

MR. CLAPPER: Isn't this actually dangerous to your movement, from the point of view of antagonizing the Senators and forcing them to cave in legislate under pressure?

MR. HOBBY: I don't think so. I think the proponents of this bill are now with final authority, and they are the final to come up with rules in the United States. I think the people who are against it are against it. I don't think that those who would be antagonized by this would vote for it if it did not happen. That has not been the history of legislation in Congress. It is

been that the people who are against it are against it if you keep quiet, or they are against it if you take action. So I would be wholly unconcerned about that group that would find themselves antagonized by the negro's effort to get his civil rights.

MR. CLAPPER: Mr. Hobson, I'm turning now to a different subject. I want to discuss the school boycott situation. What do they accomplish?

MR. HOBSON: Well, frankly, I'm a kind of back door proponent of direct action. I would have to say in the beginning, the school boycotts accomplish nothing. But we see the situation in Washington, D. C., for example, the threat of a boycott, the tension built up, and the community reaction to such a proposal, as the real valuable part of a proposed boycott. For example, in Washington, up to this point, we have gotten more done in the schools since the month of the proposed boycott than we have in the last three or four years. I believe in most direct action campaigns, if there is not something going on behind the scenes, if the public is not aware of this, and if it isn't kept in front of them, that you don't accomplish very much. And I think that you can accomplish quite a bit, as we have done in Washington, even without a boycott. Now a boycott is the last resort. The boycott comes about if the superintendent of schools and the people involved refuse to talk, or are unreasonable about this whole proposal of school integration. But the boycott, in itself, if I were to keep absolutely quiet and call all the children out tomorrow on a boycott, the next day nothing would have been accomplished. I think that we accomplish these things by calling it to the community's attention,

been that the people who are against it are against it if you keep quiet, or they are against it if you take action. So I would be wholly unconcerned about that argument that would find itself being [illegible] by you people in trying to get the civil rights.

MR. CLAPPER: Mr. Hobson, I'm turning now to a different subject. I want to discuss the school boycott situation. [illegible]

MR. HOBSON: Well, frankly, I'm a kind of back door proponent of direct action. I would have to say in the beginning, the school boycotts accomplish nothing. But we see the situation in Washington, D. C., for example, the threat of a boycott, the tension built up, and the community reaction to such a proposal, as the real valuable part of a proposed boycott. For example, in Washington, up to this point, we have gotten more done in the schools since the month of the proposed boycott than we have in the last three or four years. I believe in most direct action campaigns, if there is not something going on behind the scenes, if the public is not aware of it and if it isn't kept in front of them, that you don't accomplish very much. And I think that you can accomplish quite a bit, as we have done in Washington, even without a boycott. Now a boycott is the last resort. The boycott comes about if the superintendent of schools and the people involved refuse to talk or are unreasonable about the whole proposal of school integration. But the boycott, in itself, if I were to keep absolutely quiet and call all the children out of school on a boycott, the next day anybody would have been accomplished. I think that we accomplish these things by calling it to the community's attention.

by motivating other organizations which have not been active, but have been studying, and by getting the kind of results we have gotten out of the proposed boycott here in Washington.

MISS CORRICK: Mr. Hobson, in looking ahead toward what's in store for us this summer here in Washington, do you foresee that even if this civil rights legislation, some kind of legislation, is enacted by the Congress, that there will still be demonstrations in order to test the provisions of this bill?

MR. HOBSON: Oh I think that definitely there will be attempts all over the country to test the provisions of the bill as soon as the bill is enacted and becomes effective. I can see a number of demonstrations in this area, particularly because of the unemployment situation. There is a very serious attempt and effort being made on the part of the civil rights groups to get some kind of marriage and understanding between the poor whites, such as the unemployed in Kentucky and West Virginia, and the civil rights movement. We have had miners out of Kentucky, for example, in Washington to discuss both our plights, which are very similar and very much the same. And I think that in Washington very soon there will be a march of the unemployed, both negro and white. And with or without this legislation, I can foresee this summer a kind of increase in the number of demonstrations which we are going to have.

MISS CORRICK: Do you believe in establishing some kind of racial quota system for employment?

MR. HOBSON: No I do not. Washington CORE, for example, up to now,

has been able to get some 3,000 negroes employed in jobs which up to now have been denied them because of race. We go in to an employer, for example, and say, "We're trying to create an economic atmosphere in the District of Columbia in which all job seekers will feel free to apply for any and all jobs for which they can qualify or be trained. And we ask you to support this by showing good faith in hiring one or two negroes at the beginning. And we know that if you really adopt a merit hiring program, that in the long run, it will be reflected in the number of negroes which appear in your store." I think the quota system is a mistake in that if you go in and ask an employer to hire ten negroes, and he hires ten, then he may never hire another negro, and he will have complied with your request. Then I think that the quota system is unfair to white employees, or white people seeking jobs. I'm a proponent of the most qualified man getting the job. But in the light of the fact that the negro has had less opportunity to qualify, I think some special dispensation has to be made, and the employer has to initially hire one or two negroes, give them an opportunity to train and to go up in his firm.

MR. CLAPPER: Mr. Hobson, I'm putting this question to you since you are a pretty high official in the Congress of Racial Equality. This is a question which you may be able to give a good answer to. There are over 750,000 citizens in the District of Columbia. I understand that somewhere around 175,000 of these have registered to vote in the D.C. primary which is, I believe, on May 5th. Over half of the D.C. population is negro, I believe, or considerably more than half. How do you account for this what might be

considered a rather low percentage turnout for the primary?

MR. HOBSON: Well, in the first place, I think that it's the difficulty of what the primary will accomplish itself, and what you can explain to the person who is unsophisticated and who is without a job and who is living in a slum, about the necessity of registering to vote in a primary, which, in his mind, has no direct effect upon him. And I think--in fact, I know--that CORE and the other groups have run into difficulties trying to explain this, particularly in the lower economic brackets in the negro community. If he were voting to do something about the police brutality or do something about unemployment, or do something about slum dwelling, I think you would have gotten a better turnout. Now we try to go in and explain to these people that if you show interest in this particular registration, this might lead to home rule. But nevertheless, this is a very far-fetched abstract concept to a man who is immediately unemployed, who wants immediate relief. It's just been the inability of the registration groups, political parties, as well as civil rights organization, to sell this very abstract concept to the poor negro who is unemployed.

MR. CLAPPER: Mr. Hobson, does this mean then that at least to some extent you would agree with the Southern Senators who have said that this is proof that negroes are apathetic toward the vote?

MR. HOBSON: No, no, I don't agree with the Southern Senators that the negroes are apathetic. I think if you look at the rate of registration throughout the United States, you might be able to make that blanket statement about the entire voting population. As a free country, we have a very low

percentage of people who register and come out and vote. And a lower percentage of those who vote. I don't think that statement has any substance whatsoever. I think that what has happened in the District, in terms of registration, is more a reflection upon the civil rights groups and the political parties than it is the people who have not registered.

MISS CORRICK: Mr. Hobson, there still seems to be some disagreement among civil rights groups as to just how equal rights should be achieved. Some want more militant action, and you have your Black Muslims, who are the militant type. And some believe in moderation, the non-violent sit in demonstrations, and such. With this disagreement among the civil rights groups themselves, how can you hope to accomplish your objectives at all if you can't agree among yourselves?

MR. HOBSON: Well let me say that if we agreed among ourselves, we would be the first minority and the first diversified number of groups to so agree. I'm rather glad that there is disagreement among civil rights groups. The whole charge is, and what the negro is fighting for, is an attempt to keep from being identified as a black mass, all thinking alike and all moving at the commands of one man. We're fighting in this country for individuality, and for the right to agree or disagree. And when I find that the NAACP disagrees with CORE and CORE with the Urban League, it seems to me that this is more American than if the NAACP Chairman were able to call out every negro in the United States--I mean, in Washington--at his will. I think it's perfectly natural. CORE is an activist group with a more radical approach. The

NAACP is a group which fights in court. The Urban League, which is a much more conservative, professional group, would certainly find itself moving from different points of departure, with different philosophies. And I think that this is good for the movement. CORE antagonizes, acts as a gadfly, and gets into difficulty. The NAACP gets us out. And the Urban League, after we have called everybody bad names, goes in and smooths it over. And I think that this is the role that we should play.

MR. CLAPPER: Teamwork.

MR. HOBSON: This is a kind of unrehearsed teamwork here.

MISS CORRICK: Where do the Black Muslims fit into this?

MR. CLAPPER: What part of the team are they?

MR. HOBSON: Well, as far as I'm concerned, they're not on the team. I don't know what they feel about it, but I personally think that the Black Muslims are really abdicating their right to full-fledged American citizenship. As a veteran of World War II, and as a son of a veteran of World War I, and as a former citizen of the state of Alabama, we fought to maintain this country, we helped to till the fields in Alabama, and pave the streets, and I am fighting to enlarge my freedom there, and walk down the street like a man. I charge that Malcolm X is abdicating his right to American citizenship. And I certainly don't see where there can be any cooperation. I'm not in favor of violence. I don't think that anybody getting out guns or having rifle clubs, whether they be in a majority or a minority, is a solution to anything. I think history demonstrates that. And the Black Muslims seem to be going in one direction

and the other groups seem to be going in another.

MR. CLAPPER: How extensive, though, Mr. Hobson, do you think the appeal of Malcolm X and his ilk is?

MR. HOBSON: Well, frankly, I think that Malcolm X's appeal is more on television and radio and in the newspapers than it is among negroes. I have--in Washington, the Muslims have been here. They're ineffective. Nobody knows they're here, until Newsweek Magazine or some magazine decides to do a story about them. I think Malcolm X's strength is more in the white community than it is in the negro community. In fact, as one person said, we didn't know Malcolm X was here until one of the national magazines decided they were going to do a spread on the Black Muslims.

MR. CLAPPER: What will be the effect, if any, on negroes of Cassius Clay's apparent conversion to Muslimism?

MR. HOBSON: Well, I don't know, but I will say this. Negroes have a shouting Baptist and Methodist tradition, and they are disciples of Christ, for the most part. I have said to Mr. Malcolm X that if you were to adopt Christ and paint him black, maybe you could get more followers. But the point is that this Mohammedanism and this Muslim approach is completely foreign. I think that this is the detriment of the movement. I don't think they appeal to very many negroes because of their religious vent.

MISS CORRICK: Mr. Hobson, Malcolm X also says that no good will come of negroes cooperating with whites. He says the negro should change his image of himself. Do you think the negro needs to change his attitudes

in view of the new responsibilities that desegregation imposes upon him?

MR. HOBSON: Well, I don't quite understand what you mean by responsibilities. I think that every American citizen is born with full citizenship, whether he can exercise it or not. And I think that full citizenship in itself begets responsibility. If you are socially ostracized, politically unrepresented, and economically inopportune, and you know it, then you tend to have a hostile attitude toward the society in which you live. But if you can feel a part of that society by being completely free, I think that inherently in this feeling is a responsibility. But I think that the difficulty lies in trying to teach a man responsibility who is unemployed, or who is denied the right to run for office, or who is socially outside of the pale or economically inopportune. I think we've got to clean this up, and with the cleaning of this up, and with the feeling in the negro that he is really a part of America, then I think that this kind of thing will follow.

MR. CLAPPER: Mr. Hobson, what's your opinion of Senator Russell's proposal for voluntary relocation of negroes?

MR. HOBSON: Well, I think Senator Russell is just trying very hard to do something to kill this legislation. I think it's an utterly ridiculous proposal. I know the negroes in Georgia that I know are not going to submit to any kind of relocation. We're not going to move. That's their home state, and they should stay there. I think that this is an utterly ridiculous and unamerican proposal.

MR. CLAPPER: What about the problem of white backlash against the

increasing militancy of the integrationist? Are you concerned about this?

MR. HOBSON: Well I don't think there is really that much white back lash. I'm aware of the march in New York against the school integration program, but I don't think that there is that much white backlash that hasn't been there all the time. I think the people who are in favor of freedom are in favor of freedom, and those who are not, are going to be antagonized by action, or they're going to be antagonized by inaction. And the reason I lean toward action, without regard to those who are antagonized, is that history demonstrates that in every case where the negro has gotten anything in this country, or has extended his rights, his been a result of his efforts.

MR. CLAPPER: I would like to follow that up with one more question, though, Mr. Hobson. Which do you prefer, in line of your last answer, the type of demonstration which was held in a very dignified fashion here last summer in Washington or the type of trouble they're having now in Jacksonville, Florida? I mean, they're both action.

MR. HOBSON: As a proponent of non-violence, I certainly would be in favor of a peaceful demonstration. And, in fact, I don't know what that is they're having in Jacksonville, Florida, but it certainly has not been put on by any national group that I know of. I am against violence, and I'm against killing people under any conditions. I have no choice but to be against that. I think that life is sacred, and I think that, of course, we will just have to continue to be peaceful about this, and push in a peaceful way to solve it. But to get out guns and start shooting people, to me, compounds the problem.

MISS CORRICK: Do you think that President Johnson is sincere in his stand for civil rights ?

MR. HOBSON: Well, let me say this, that his stand seems to have pushed civil rights through the House. This is something new. And I believe that it's going to push it through the Senate. And whether he's sincere or not, I believe we're going to have a civil rights bill as a result of his actions.

MISS CORRICK: Thank you, Mr. Hobson. I'm sorry to have to bring our discussion to a close, but our time has run out. Our guest on WASHINGTON VIEWPOINT this evening has been Mr. Julius W. Hobson, Southeastern Regional Director of the Congress of Racial Equality and Chairman of its Washington Chapter. This is Ann Corrick with Pete Clapper in Washington.

A Plan for a non-governmental, voluntary FEPC to be operated by CORE in the Washington, D.C. Metropolitan area.

In brief, the plan calls for the issuance of CORE shields to co-operating, non-discriminating businesses, and encouragement of the public to patronize those businesses whenever they conveniently can.

The objectives:

1. To abolish racial discrimination in hiring and job advancement, and public accommodation.

The assumptions:

1. There are a sufficient number of people in Washington, D.C., who will cooperate to end racial discrimination, so that non-cooperators in competitive industries can be hurt. The base of this group is (a) the entire Negro community, (b) liberals and their organizations, (c) people who will be persuaded by their clergy and religious organizations, (d) politicians who cannot afford to do otherwise.

2. Very vulnerable competitive businesses can be found to begin with, where more than 1/2 of the business owners or managements will cooperate.

3. The effect will snow-ball, and businessmen will find the CORE shield desirable.

The Plan

1. Industry-by-industry, invite applications for a CORE Shield. When a business applies, investigate hiring, advancement and patronage practices. If these are satisfactory, have the chief executive officer of the firm sign a Pledge, and issue the Shield. If they are not satisfactory, work out a plan with the business and, on approval, issue the Pledge and Shield. Shields are not to be issued until the individual industry survey has been completed, i.e., all who have applied have been passed or rejected. Issuance of Shields industry-wide should not await compliance of those found wanting. They will get theirs when they comply. Renewal every two years, while requirements tighten (eg. an actual training program may be required.) Shields may be revoked for cause.

2. At the same time individuals, approached thru churches, employee associations, cooperating labor unions, liberal groups, neighborhood associations, etc., will be asked to sign a pledge substantially as follows:

> "I condemn discrimination on the basis of race as immoral and unjust. Knowing that a business which displays the CORE Shield does not so discriminate, I will patronize businesses displaying the CORE Shield and buy products bearing the CORE label whenever I can."

3. Get a person or group with FEPC experience to work out a standard procedure, which can be implemented by intelligent laymen, for examining employment practices and determining whether they are fair.

4. Organize a corps of examiners, leaning heavily on professional government employees, to implement the examining procedure.

5. Set up a tribunal to hear disputed cases.

The expected benefits

1. Achievement of the objective, industry-by-industry.
2. A window into business, to obtain information on and understanding of the problem.
3. Obtaining adherents to CORE objectives, who are given something to do.
4. A coherent attack on discrimination.
5. In a covered industry, the government will be unable to award contracts to non-shield enterprises.

The requirements

Some full-time staff and headquarters will probably become necessary. Money for these may be obtainable from a foundation.

The Program

It is important to begin with one or two or three industries where (1) the job of examination is easy, (2) Negro patronage is important, and (3) at least half of the enterprises are likely to cooperate. Candidates are:

(1) taxicabs
(2) supermarket chains (query cooperation)
(3) variety stores and chains
(4) auto accessory stores and chains
(5) gasoline filling stations and chains (this may be the best)
(6) automobile dealers
(7) lending and finance companies

Industries in which consumers have very strong preferences which are likely to overcome the obligation of the pledge should be avoided at first.

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
COrtlandt 7 6270 Oct. 1963

AREA REDEVELOPMENT ACT

I INTRODUCTION

On May 1, 1961, President Kennedy signed into law the Area Redevelopment Act, known as ARA, to bring the resources of the federal government to bear to "help areas of substantial and persistent unemployment and underemployment to take effective steps in planning and financing their economic redevelopment."

This program is an attempt on the part of the federal government to "create a partnership of private enterprise, community leadership, state governments and many federal agencies -- all working together to build stronger local economies that will provide the new jobs that are needed." The tools that Congress made available under this act are:

1. Long term, low interest loans to help establish new industrial or commercial enterprises or to help existing firms expand in redevelopment areas. These loans can run for as long as 25 years, and currently bear an annual interest rate of 4 per cent.

2. Loans or grants to help build new public facilities -- like sewage plants, railroad spurs or access roads -- which communities must provide to help new or expanding industry. These loans can run for as long as 40 years and currently bear an annual interest rate of 3 3/8 per cent.

3. Technical assistance, to help break "bottlenecks." These usually involve special studies by private firms, universities, state agencies or federal agencies, financed wholly or in part by ARA funds.

4. Programs to retrain jobless workers, usually for new jobs created in the area, but also to equip workers with skills for existing job vacancies.

5. Subsistence allowance for workers while they are in training.

In addition the Area Redevelopment Act amended the Urban Renewal section of the Housing Act, to provide special help for redevelopment areas in tailoring some of their urban renewal activities to the need for creating new job opportunities. Also, ARA brings together many federal agencies, in what is called "one-stop service" and focuses their resources on the problems of redevelopment areas. ARA acts as the contact point between the communities and other federal agencies, making it possible to get the answers on all available federal programs, at one point. ARA funds and programs are not however, used to bring "runaway plants" into a community. Congress said that the purpose of the Act is not to transfer jobs from one area of the country to another but to create new jobs.

II CRITERIA

A. Area Conditions

The unemployment levels necessary for an area to come under the ARA program are, by the law, precisely defined. For urban areas with fairly large labor markets, there are two standards:

1. Current unemployment must be six per cent or more, after discounting seasonal factors; and

2. The annual average rate of unemployment must have been either:

   a) 50 per cent above the national average in three of the preceding four calendar years; or

   b) 75 per cent above the national average in two of the preceding three calendar years; or

   c) 100 per cent above the national average in one of the preceding two calendar years.

In addition, there are rural areas and small labor markets which qualify under one or more of the following standards:

1. All Indian reservations with serious unemployment or underemployment problems.

2. Areas of low median family income $1,560 or less. (One-third the national median.)

3. Areas of low median farm income $1,170 or less. (One-fourth the national median.)

4. Counties which were part of an earlier rural development program of the Department of Agriculture.

5. Areas of low production farming.

6. Very small areas (labor force under 15,000) with substantial and persistent unemployment. (The criteria are roughly the same as for urban-industrial areas.)

NOTE: The national unemployment average in 1958 was 6.8 per cent; in 1959, it was 5.5 per cent, in 1960 it 5.6 per cent; in 1961 it was 6.7 per cent; in 1962 it was 5.6 per cent.

The decisions on designating redevelopment areas are made by the Area Redevelopment Administrator acting for the Secretary of Commerce. Facts and statistical data necessary to making these decisions are provided by the Departments of Agriculture, Commerce, Interior, Labor and other federal and state agencies. While no local initiative is required to have a redevelopment area so designated, in borderline cases where a community feels that it has a serious problem, but does not meet the standard requirements, the community may bring additonal evidence to the attention of the ARA.

B. The Overall Economic Development Program (OEDP)

In order for a designated redevelopment area to receive assistance under the ARA program, it is necessary for a group to file an OEDP (Overall Economic Development Program.) This will hopefully mean that community leadership will take the initiative in economic redevelopment. The OEDP includes the following basic essentials:

1. A description of the representative local organization responsible for the OEDP

2. A background picture of the redevelopment area as a place to live and work

3. An assessment of the labor market and skills, natural resources, physical facilities, transportation networks, available markets, and available and potential financial resources

4. Analysis of the "bottlenecks" impeding progress

5. A program of action for creating new employment opportunities. Help in drawing up the OEDP may be otained from the ARA Field Coordinator. After the local group has completed the OEDP it is submitted to the State Agency designated by the governor to coordinate redevelopment activities. It then goes to the ARA in Washington for review and approval. If the OEDP is for a rural area, ARA seeks the advice of the Department of Agriculture. Thus, the area should work out its plan with the local Rural Areas Development Committee, and submit it simultaneously through Department of Agriculture channels.

C. The Training Program and Criteria

Besides bringing new industry into an area, one of the important aspects of the ARA program is its job training program. This training covers a wide variety of fields -- from semi-skilled production workers to white collar crafts or "refresher" courses in highly technical skills. Occupational training under ARA is applied to help solve the various manpower problems which are especially acute in redevelopment areas, particularly in connection with new employment generated by ARA loans and grants which lead to the establishment of new industries or the expansion of existing ones. Under the law, the ARA is authorized to pay subsistence allowances to ARA trainees for the period of their training, a maximum of 16 weeks. These payments are equal to the average weekly unemployment compensation payment benefit payable on the state.

To be eligible for an ARA training program, the local group must first draw up and submit an OEDP. Then the local public Employment Service office determines the occupational shortages, screens applicants and selects for training those who can be reasonably expected to obtain jobs following the course. The training programs themselves are set up by local and State Vocational Educational Authorities.

SUMMARY

While the ARA program can make vast changes in the economically underdeveloped areas of the country, there are two observations that must be made about the program and its implementation.

1. In many of the redevelopment areas in the South, Negroes comprise a substantial proportion of the population.

2. Through the lack of any anti-discrimination clause and through lack of knowledge of the program, Negroes have been systematically excluded from the local redevelopment committee.

The result is that Negroes are excluded from the job training programs administered under ARA, and when the plant(s) are built and management calls for trained people, Negroes, lacking training, are turned away.

Because of these problems, Mr. James T. McCain, Director of Organization, CORE and CORE General Counsel, Mr. Carl Rachlin held a meeting with the top administrators of the ARA program in Washington. As a result of this meeting the ARA intimated that if Negroes in the local area complained "in time" to the ARA that they had been systematically excluded from the local planning, the ARA would hold up on grants, loans, etc. The ARA's policy has, to some degree, been borne out through further discussions with the local ARA representative in New York. In fact, the Administration has just sent out forms requiring a census and analysis of the job categories in the "designated redevelopment areas" by race. This is to insure that in industries built with ARA funds, non-whites are not excluded in training programs and employment opportunities in all job categories. Also, in some instances, the ARA has turned down the OEDP's of local committees that are all white and then helped to structure committees that more fully represent the ethnic patterns of the local area.

Enclosed is a list of the counties designated by the ARA as "redevelopment areas." If your chapter is within one of these areas or if you have close contacts within one the areas mentioned, you should do the following:

1. Find out whether a local redevelopment committee has been set up. If so, is there strong minority representation? If not, notify this office and the ARA.

2. If there is no committee, notify this office.

The National staff of CORE will help in either getting local Negro representation on the committee or in setting up local development committees.

For further information, contact: Norman Hill, Director, PROGRAM DEPARTMENT
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Until now business has been left pretty much alone, and for the most part management has followed a do-nothing policy; but forces are gathering which may well develop into active conflict.

BUSINESS— Next Target for Integration?

By John Perry

Will CORE, the NAACP, and other antisegregation groups make American industry their next major target?

Management is worried:

"I wonder why they've waited so long," a corporation president confessed. "We're vulnerable. Take my company. We have no official policy against hiring Negroes. But, the fact is, we don't have one on the payroll!"

His general counsel had warned him that the company was in obvious violation of both government contract provisions and state equal-opportunities laws. Its union contract, too, pledged nondiscrimination.

"Personnel told me that three Negroes came in last week, looking for work," the president continued. "We have men on layoff, so we weren't hiring. But Personnel thinks it may have been a test case. We hadn't had a Negro applicant for over a year. Now, three at once. Made us wonder who sent them."

"What are your plans?" I asked.

"That's the damnedest thing!" he exclaimed. "I don't know what to do. Sure, open up, hire strictly on ability! We'll have to do it. But as a rule we just don't have Negro applicants. And Personnel tells me we'll stir up a hornet's nest in the plant if we hire Negroes. We talked with a couple of union officers and they just shrugged it off; said it was our problem, not theirs."

The Gathering Storm

Will industry be next? The American Negro's struggle for a place in the sun has been fought on a widening front since World War II. The mood and temper are well expressed by James M. Nabrit, Jr., president of Howard University:

"We are sick of evasions, weary of excuses, fed up with promises and want action now, liberty now, equality now."

Action there has been, at a quickening pace. Racial bars have been broken in schools, colleges, restaurants, theaters, hotels, swimming pools, parks, playgrounds, hospitals, blood banks, department stores, public housing, the armed forces, public conveyances, YMCAs, Scout troops, professional and amateur sports, fraternities, private clubs. Not everywhere, not all at once; but the trend is massive.

Influential Negro leaders make it plain that gradualism is not enough, even if it be called "progress." Indeed, leaders who planned the strategy of progress are being shoved aside by others who want no compromises. Some white liberals have been hurt and confused at being told that the kind of help they provided for so long is now called "go-slowism." Many Negroes favor all-Negro leadership for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), which were interracial when founded.

The new forces are confident, determined, and militant, and they are rapidly abandoning lawsuits as their chief tactic. Direct action is replacing it: sit-ins, kneel-ins, wade-ins, boycotts, demonstrations, picket lines.

So, will industry be next? The Negro has been at a tremendous disadvantage in the job market. Economic equality is a principal goal.

Surely there will be a maximum effort to redress the balance. Will American industry have its Little Rock and its Oxford?

I do not think so. But this is not because the demand for equal opportunity will be tempered. On the contrary, it seems certain that Negroes and their allies will make job equality an immediate goal, and be prepared for confrontation on any scale. The difference between Little Rock and business, however, is that industry leaders are not massing for the defense. Whatever their private prejudices may be, they will not commit their corporations to them. For business, equal opportunity is not a fighting issue.

Nor is this a new position. Racial discrimination in industry has been a product of nonpolicy rather than policy. True, some national corporations have formalized it: "Let local customs prevail." But in most cases the pattern has simply evolved, growing out of customs, habits, and tacit understandings.

Inevitable Change

Letting sleeping dogs lie was a comfortable and noncontroversial policy for business while community customs remained static or changed slowly. Industry's problem now is that community customs are changing fast. Unfortunately, these changes do not flow easily and automatically through factory gates. Inside the plant, yesterday's customs have become structures, often frozen into seniority rules and job assignments, and closely linked to status and job security.

But more and more executives are feeling squeezed between the pressures for change from without and the structured customs within their organizations. At least half convinced that the change must come, they are understandably reluctant to take action which might make racial conflict a disturbing issue within their organizations.

At the same time, a growing number of companies — including some of the largest corporations — have, instead of yielding to pressures, seized the initiative. Evidence of this initiative is the work of the National Urban League, an interracial organization seeking to end segregation and discrimination.

Among the members of the National Urban League's Commerce and Industry Council are the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey, General Electric Company, General Foods Corporation, General Motors Corporation, International Harvester Company, International Business Machines Corporation, Western Electric Company, Incorporated, American Machine & Foundry Company, Radio Corporation of America, St. Regis Paper Company, Schenley Industries, Inc., Union Carbide Corporation, Westinghouse Electric Corporation, Pitney-Bowes, Inc., Bristol-Myers Company, Campbell Soup Company, General Cable Corporation, Hanes Hosiery Mills Co., Budd Company, and others. Corporate membership on the council signifies that each company is helping to finance the organization's work. It also signifies that each member company has taken at least the first steps toward hiring and promoting without regard to race. And key officials of these companies are, on behalf of the League, opening friendly and helpful conversations with leaders of other companies that have yet to make a serious beginning.

Patterns of Discrimination

What are companies like these really trying to overcome? What are the causes of job discrimination, anyway? The answers are not as simple as some think. An incident from my experience helps make this clear:

> For a time I was involved in the management of a southern manufacturing plant. Our contract with the United Automobile Workers of America included the standard nondiscrimination clause. Its seniority provisions were such that new employees were first assigned to foundry labor.
>
> Negro and white laborers worked together in the foundry. State law required that there be separate washrooms and drinking fountains, but foundry labor is hot, heavy, and dirty, and men who drank quarts of water daily sought it at whatever fountain was nearest. At noon, when the weather was good, Negro and white workers ate together on the grassy bank outside.
>
> The Negroes did feel free to go after one kind of better-paying work. They bid up to the top foundry jobs: push-up, shake-out, and pour-off. The highest-paid hourly worker in the plant was our Negro cupola tender. Factors of skill, hazard, and physical effort gave this job top rating, and the Negro operator earned an hour of overtime pay every morning.
>
> But outside of foundry work no Negro ever bid on a job. We had no Negro press operators, no Negro welders, no Negroes on assembly or painting or die-setting. The bids were open and posted, and many Negroes had enough seniority and ability to have bid successfully. No member of management discouraged Negroes from bidding, and I doubt that any union leaders did so.

Had I wanted to change this pattern, how would I have done so? We hired without discrimination. We promoted those who bid on the jobs. Yet all but one department was "lily white."

What if a Negro had bid into another department? I think we would have followed the contract, but with some apprehension. Would he be heckled, threatened, sabotaged? Would we have a wildcat strike or a slowdown? When two Negro employees of an outside contractor used the assembly washroom, the line was stopped for an hour in protest.

This case is typical only in that it illustrates some of the bewildering array of customs, situations, and practices lumped together as "discrimination." Here are other contradictions:

¶ One company I know of employs a preponderance of Negroes, about two-thirds of its total manning; but the Negroes are rigidly confined to certain categories.

¶ Another company employs only a few Negroes, but they seem to have been hired and promoted without regard to race; in fact, one of them heads a predominantly white department.

¶ In a South Carolina plant, the standard crew for a certain machine line is a white woman and a Negro man. Any white man in the plant would refuse transfer to the job now held by Negroes. But, in a plant not far away, identical machines have all-white crews, and it would cause a storm if Negroes were assigned.

¶ A New Jersey company has a number of Negro scientists and engineers in its employ, several Negro typists, and a Negro bookkeeper; but no Negroes are on the hourly payroll.

¶ In several plants I have visited, Negroes are hired and promoted freely in all the production classifications, but none are in the skilled-trades progressions.

Unchanging Status

There are some well-established patterns, of course, and they can be summed up by saying that Negroes are at the bottom of the heap — except where that unenviable position is held by Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, or Asiatics. (In one small eastern town, the descendants of a native Indian tribe sometimes seek to elevate their status by passing as Negroes.) In general, Negroes find it harder to get jobs; they are more likely to be in hot, heavy, dirty, and menial jobs; they are in the lowest wage categories.

But is this the true face of racial discrimination? The same generalizations were true for the Irish, the Italians, the Poles, and other groups, following each great wave of immigration. But many of their children and most of their grandchildren were educated side by side with other citizens, entered the job market on equal terms, and moved up wherever their drive and ability took them. Obviously there has been something different about the Negro's situation, about his cultural segregation in the community. A third-generation Pole might speak with a New England twang. An Adamowski could become an Adams. But the Negro's most conspicuous characteristic will not change; he cannot change his color.

So, in the community, racial segregation has been an absolute, a yes/no matter. It takes only one black face to break the color line in a school or a restaurant, at least symbolically. James Meredith is the smallest possible minority at the University of Mississippi, but no one has doubted the meaning of his presence there.

It is not that simple in industry, and the manager who contemplates the need to change may well ask himself, "Change what?" If his company is reasonably large, the chances are that some Negroes are on the payroll now. Segregated washrooms are side issues, not useful indexes. Equal pay for equal work is the general practice in manufacturing industry; discrimination on this score survives only in scattered and backward enclaves.

Indeed, he will find no single yes/no issue as the determinant, no single policy or practice which sustains or abolishes discrimination. The wisest thing he can do to make sense out of the problem is to put aside the slogan words of "segregation" and "integration," and to substitute instead the subtler and more meaningful concept of *place*.

"OK in Their Place"

Every Negro knows what *place* means. *Place* is where he is accepted, where white people think he belongs. A Negro is more than accepted in his place; he is often welcomed, warmly regarded, respected, admired. Especially in the South, place involves far more than where a Negro lives or what job he holds. It includes nuances of behavior and demeanor which neither white nor black could codify but which both fully understand.

Place is an elusive thing. A northern housewife would be shocked if a servant, white or

black, addressed her with the easy familiarity commonly enjoyed by the southern Negro housekeeper. Yet in parts of the South, the white man who sees a Negro look him in the eye as they pass on the street reads this as a message of challenge, of defiance, and brands the black man as "uppity" and potentially dangerous.

Geographical Concept

Place is precisely what a local group thinks it is — no more, no less. It can differ from area to area, community to community, factory to factory, and department to department. It has no standard form or boundaries, but — in any given locale — place is categorical, exact, and tacitly understood by all. The Negroes in our foundry were in their place, including the top-pay cupola tender. The Negroes teamed with white women in the South Carolina plant were in their place; yet in the plant nearby a Negro assigned to this same job would have been conspicuously out of place.

Place describes, if it does not explain, the bewildering variety of discriminations in the community at large. Thus:

¶ In one southern department store Negroes were welcomed as customers but out of place as clerks. In another store they were in place as clerks but not as customers.

¶ In a southern city the most fashionable barber shop was owned and operated by Negroes. This would have been unthinkable in another city not far away.

¶ In a small Tennessee town, I followed two white men into a small cafe, sat near them on one side of the horseshoe-shaped counter. The counterman was a Negro and, I soon learned, the owner. Negro customers entered and sat on the other side. Gradually the place filled. I soon saw that the racial barrier was invisibly drawn between two seats at the counter's end. Negro and white sat side by side there and pleasantries were exchanged across the horseshoe. But any latecomer would stand, waiting for a seat on his side.

¶ In parts of the South, at least, a Negro physician is not out of place treating white patients. I spent an evening with a Negro doctor who practices in Fairfax County, Virginia. Almost half of his regular patients are white, he told me. "People from the North who came down to work for the government?" I asked, naively. He shook his head. "Indeed not," he said; "in fact, when I've been called out on night emergencies by strangers, people who got my name out of the Classified, the only times I've been turned away have been by people from the North."

Dick Gregory, the Negro comedian who has made a career of poking fun at the contradiction of place, has quipped, "In the South, they don't care how close we are if we don't get too big. In the North, they don't care how big we are if we don't get too close!"

North or South, place is what the manager must deal with if he decides it is time for a change.

The Company's Role

Is it time for a change? If so, what can be done about place? It would be difficult to find any large employer, North or South, who has successfully and completely eliminated the restrictive aspects of place. Even in those companies that are determined and courageous in their efforts to be equal-opportunity employers, vestiges of discrimination persist — largely as a result of place considerations.

But only a few companies have gone all-out to erase the barriers. Conversely, only a few remain "lily white." An executive can get a rough reading on his company's situation by taking a walk through the offices, laboratories, and plant. He will probably see conspicuous evidence that Negroes are, for one reason or another, limited in number and occupations.

Until recently, this kind of evidence exposed the company to little, if any, risk of legal action. The machinery of law enforcement was usually actuated only by complaints, and investigation limited to the allegations of the individual complainant. With employers being free to select new employees in any way they please, which includes hunch and whim, it is seldom possible to prove racial discrimination in any given case.

The Law's Role

Today the law enforcement agencies are taking more initiative and broadening the scope of their investigations. They are now likely to look at the results of hiring practices, not just the practices themselves. They are beginning to consider discrimination in promotions, not just in hiring. Yet, on the record to date, it can be said that the risk of prosecution, conviction, and penalty is small. A determined segregationist, willing to fight his case up through the courts, could expect to maintain his position for a long time, perhaps indefinitely.

The vast majority of managers, however, want no part of such a struggle. They are well aware that even an accusation is damaging, because such accusations are often well publicized. Recently, for example, a number of New Jersey employers and their employment agencies were publicly charged with using a secret code to identify the jobs for which Negro applicants would be considered. The charges against most of them were subsequently dropped, but in public relations terms the damage had been done.

The integrationists have sought and obtained stronger federal laws. They will continue to work for equal-opportunities laws in states that have not as yet adopted them. They will, when it seems strategically advantageous, file charges and complaints, and press them. But, for the most part, these are tactical maneuvers. They expect to win by pressure and persuasion, not court decrees. Here is one possible method:

> The manager of a company which employs a significant number of people in a metropolitan area can safely assume that his company's hiring practices have been considered by desegregationist groups. If he has not heard from them already, he surely will. How the approach is made depends on which group takes the initiative first.
>
> The approach may be a telephone call from a business friend, an officer of another company; and the manager may be surprised to learn that his friend is identified with the National Urban League. The call may suggest a three-way conference: the two executives and a member of the League's staff, who is likely to be a Negro with a graduate degree in industrial relations.
>
> The first conference will be exploratory. They will discuss the company's practices and problems, review what's going on in other companies, explain the League's role, and offer to help the manager change the practices of his own company. The combination of pressure and persuasion is approximate to what one would expect if the subject were a contribution to a local charity.

The New Approach

But there is a new tone and temper in the Negro community, and other groups impatient with the Urban League's pragmatic methods are emerging. They want action now, and their methods are vigorous and public.

Avoiding Conflict

What might they do? Some answers to this question are in the daily headlines. Companies have been singled out for attack, and most have given ground. But few managers have other than academic interest in knowing what strategies might be used against them, or what the costs might be. It is enough for them to know that the attack might come, and that it would be pressed with vigor and determination.

This is not a contest in which they choose to engage. What they want is a way of avoiding the conflict altogether, of being responsive to the times. Most of the managers I have talked with say — and, I believe, honestly — that neither principle nor prejudice holds them back from providing equal opportunity. But they are deterred from affirmative action by real concern lest this disrupt their organizations.

What are the risks of initiating change? How much conflict and commotion may be precipitated if Negroes move into jobs heretofore considered out of place for them? There is little to go on, because so few managements have risked discovering how much of the threatened reaction was substance, how much shadow. No one likes to thrust an arm in a lion's mouth.

It would be well first to consider what the organized opposition might be — specifically the attitude of labor unions. In some situations, at least, organized labor appears to be a vigorous defender of racial discrimination.

The Unions' Stand

In certain of the craft unions, especially in the building trades, the racial barriers are out in the open for everyone to see. Some unions are strictly white; others are Jim Crow, confining Negroes to separate locals, where they may have no voice in union policies and may get only the leftover jobs.

The history of craft unions illuminates what is going on today. Since the days of the guilds, craftsmen have attempted to buttress their economic position by restricting intake to their crafts. At times their rules were designed to exclude immigrants. At times only members' sons could be apprenticed. Some unions set enormous initiation fees to limit intake. Those that exclude Negroes today do so, not because they are Negroes, but because they are competitors. Racial prejudice is a convenient rationalization, not a cause.

Few of the unions that represent the bulk of organized industrial employees practice racial segregation officially. Indeed, most of their charters declare a quite opposite position. Re-

cent targets of the NAACP have been international unions that publicly denounce discrimination. The NAACP attacks, not their international policies, but their practices, especially the conduct of certain locals.

A case in which I was briefly involved suggests what the NAACP has in mind:

This concerned a factory in southwestern Illinois which had a contract with the United Steelworkers of America, a union which, nationally, stands four-square against any form of discrimination. On its face, the union contract seemed to reflect this policy. It contained the standard nondiscrimination clause. But there was a certain peculiarity about the seniority arrangements of the contract. They puzzled me because they ran counter to what unions usually demand; but the minutes of the bargaining sessions showed the union negotiators had insisted on these with considerable passion.

The Steelworkers' international representative finally took pity on me and explained. The odd clauses had been ingeniously fashioned to confine Negro employees to certain departments and occupations. "I wish I'd been able to get some signals across the table during the negotiations," he confessed. "I did everything I could to stop it, and I lost. Then I hoped management would take a stand. It was just one faction in the local, but they had the whip hand."

This man, like many international union representatives, had an assignment that is largely political. A union local enjoys considerable autonomy. In theory, the international has both governing policies and disciplinary powers. But, against these, a rebellious local has a potent threat: disaffiliation.

Thus, where racial discrimination is practiced within a plant, management and union are often equally guilty, and for the same reason: both of them have hesitated to tangle with what appears to be deep-seated prejudice among hourly employees.

Outflanking Prejudice

What happens when a company shows enough courage to attack these deep-rooted racial prejudices among its employees? Do unrest and discontent necessarily follow? It all depends on how intelligently the company has gone about its attempts at change. Let me offer an example:

Mrs. Evelyn M. Hairston is a chief inspector, or foreman, for 11 machines manned by white and Negro workers in a large tobacco factory. The factory is in North Carolina. Mrs. Hairston is a Negro. In the crew she supervises whites outnumber Negroes by more than two to one. Four other Negroes are supervisors on her shift.

A visit to this plant would astonish many northern executives who think of the South in stereotypes. There is little visible evidence of restrictive place. Negro and white workers are a random mix. Whites supervise Negroes, and Negroes supervise whites.

State law requires that there be separate washrooms, but there is no segregation in the company's cafeteria. There is some sorting-out at the cafeteria tables, but it is a social rather than a racial pattern; no eyebrows are raised when Negro and white individuals choose to sit together.

How did this pattern, which would be unusual in a northern setting, come about in the R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Company factory in the South? First, the company was committed firmly to a policy of equal opportunity. Next, Winston-Salem is noted for good race relations; schools and other public places desegregated without incident. Finally, the Whitaker Park plant is new. Thus, place had no prior structure. Within this plant, place was made from the beginning, starting with a clean slate.

Starting Fresh

Recently I was asked by some corporation executives what racial policies could and should be followed in manning a factory they were about to build in a border state. Corporate policy, as stated to me, was "equal opportunity, to the extent that this doesn't get us in trouble locally."

Ten years ago this area was rigidly segregated. Now, I learned, racial barriers are gone or rapidly vanishing in the schools and most public places. The community pool has been integrated; the chief lifeguard is a Negro. The new public hospital is unsegregated. A small but increasing number of white students now attend what once had been an all-Negro state college. Not everyone likes the changes, to be sure. I talked with prominent citizens who made no effort to conceal their distaste. But they join with other white spokesmen and Negro leaders in a clear consensus: a new company, just starting up, can set almost any pattern it chooses. Several warn that it would be more difficult to change the pattern later.

In this case, as well as that of the Reynolds

company, it is significant that the community environment was not hostile to an integrated business in its midst. For a northern firm to "invade" a deep-South town with such a proposition would not be quite so easy and might be impossible. But "might" is the proper word. If the northern managers made integrated operations a condition, and stuck to it; if the community needed the industry badly enough; if the "invaders," though firm, were willing to discuss *how* it could be done — out of this could emerge at least a more liberal restructuring of place. Several companies that determined to make the change and went about it skillfully are now operating racially integrated plants in Georgia, Texas, and other southern states.[1]

An Inside Job

No company is likely to tear down a plant and build anew just to have this opportunity to restructure relationships. But if a new plant can move toward equal opportunity with considerable freedom, while an established plant in the same community seems tied to the past, one useful fact is demonstrated: *the problem of change is primarily internal.*

In some cases, management is challenged to find ways of updating internal patterns which have lagged behind community changes. But the examples suggest that management is not limited to conforming. It can, if it so chooses, move ahead of local customs. Two experiences that I have had in performing reconnaissance work for a new plant location are worth recounting:

¶ First, I talked with a number of people in the community about the current racial practices of the county's largest industry. Most white business leaders said this company practiced "token integration," hiring a few Negroes to avoid trouble on government contracts. But, to my surprise, even the most militant Negro leaders praised this company for its open-door policies!

I went back to one Negro leader and demanded an explanation. The county's population was divided about equally between Negro and white. The company in question employed about 50 Negroes in a total manning of about 1,000. Why did he consider this a case of equal opportunity?

"They hire on the basis of ability," he told me. "This has been a rural area. There aren't many Negroes with the skills they need. Our young men need training. We want equal opportunity, not favoritism."

¶ Two days later I sat on the front porch of a small house ten miles away and talked with a machinist, a tobacco-chewing oldster wearing suspenders over a ragged undershirt. . . . Would he be interested in working in the new factory? He sure would! How would he feel about working side by side with Negroes? He looked at me sharply and spat tobacco juice.

"You mean Negroes or niggers?" he demanded.

"What's the difference?"

"If you mean niggers like we got in the shacks over there, you couldn't pay me to. But if you mean a Negro, somebody who does my work as well as I do, hell! he's *folks*!"

Here we see one of the reasons why, in the past, racial barriers in industry were, to some degree, natural boundaries. Industry necessarily discriminates on the basis of ability. Formerly, this alone would have left most Negroes outside the gates or in the lowest-paid jobs. Until the separate-but-equal strategy developed as a defense against school integration, few Negroes could get a decent education, and even fewer were prepared for jobs in industry. Southern Negro educators have told me that their vocational courses were limited to farming and service trades.

Tarnished Hopes

This is why World War II was such a significant turning point. War plants grabbed for whatever labor was to be had, regardless of age, sex, or race, and regardless of skill. Negro women with little education were taught complex bombsight assembly, and Negro men were given hurry-up courses in welding, machine shop operations, and other skills. When the war ended, Negro veterans entered the job market with new skills developed in the armed forces. And, under the G.I. Bill of Rights, thousands of Negro youths entered colleges and universities, graduating with degrees in medicine, engineering, chemistry, physics, biology, law, and business administration.

Some of the skilled and educated Negroes found jobs at the levels for which they were qualified. Many did not. Graduate engineers became janitors and laborers. Graduates in business administration often found it difficult to get work even as clerks. From this large group of vocationally frustrated people has arisen a

[1] For other examples of industry leadership, see Helen Hill Miller, "Private Business & Public Education in the South," HBR July–August 1960, p. 75.

great deal of the insistent drive for equality of opportunity.

Here is a clue to the dynamics of change, furnished by my friend, the tobacco-chewing machinist. Discrimination has a cultural base. Immigrants who came to America from the cultural equivalents of southern Negro farming communities were treated in much the same way as Negroes who migrate northward from the rural South. The children of the European immigrants, however, could go to school with other citizens. Until recently, most Negro children could not. Now this is changing, and with it is coming a profound, though slow, change of attitudes. It's hard to hate a man whose background is the same as yours.

Initiating Change

Few industrial managers have to be hit over the head before they know what's going on. It is part of their managerial skill to anticipate, to sense which way the wind is blowing, to respond to trends in marketing or technology or economics almost before they happen. In my opinion neither legal threats nor fear of publicity is causing so many managers to take a fresh look at the hiring and promotion of Negro workers. Rather, it is their close observation of today's social scene.

The manager has become accustomed to seeing well-dressed Negroes in good restaurants, on planes and trains, in church, in hotel lobbies, at United Fund meetings, on television, at his university club. Only a few years ago, if he met a Negro at some civic or political meeting, he understood that the man was there because he was a Negro; he was a kind of exhibit. Today it is much more likely that the Negro is there because of his position or profession. It makes a difference that everyone feels.

The manager is aware that companies other than his are changing. He sees it happening. He reads about it. It is talked about, usually off the record and informally, at business gatherings. So, in due course, questions are shaped in his mind: "How can we keep in step? How can we change, without making a big deal of it? Can we do it without a lot of uproar?"

There is some advice I can give to managers who ask these questions. But I must issue the obvious warning that this kind of change is not achieved by any "how to do it" formula. Place has many meanings; discrimination takes many forms; no two communities or groups are quite alike. Sometimes change is best achieved by a bold, deliberate act of management, a careful assessment of the situation followed by a determination to see it through. Sometimes it is best to take it a step at a time, choosing the points for change with considerable care.

But there are enough integrated plants, North and South, to demonstrate that the goal is not unrealistic or unattainable. And there are more than enough instances of management-initiated change to demonstrate that such changes are feasible, that they can be brought about without short-term or long-term penalties.

Let us take up some of the problems that occur in the hiring and training of Negro hourly workers, professionals, office workers, supervisors, and managers.

In the Personnel Office

It takes more than a quiet word to the personnel director to change what happens at the point of hiring. The reputation of every significant company is well known in the Negro community. If the company has hired no Negroes, or very few, then few will apply. No one likes to invite rejection. Employment agencies know company reputations, too. Though companies and agencies alike are bound by law in some states not to discriminate, agencies hesitate to send Negroes where they will not be welcome. Even the official agencies often refrain from sending applicants on futile quests.

If nothing had happened before, the essence of fairness might be recruiting efforts that give no heed to race. But, realistically, a company must make a point of recruiting Negroes to redress past imbalances. This is not difficult. Any good personnel man does his recruiting where the people he wants can be found. Calls can be sent to schools and institutes where Negroes are trained, to agencies where they apply for work, and to neighborhoods where they live. A number of companies have initiated change by hiring Negroes for their personnel offices.

With the flow of applicants stimulated, the next problem is selection. It may seem that the essence of equality is applying the same criteria to white and Negro applicants. As some Negroes see it, this is anything but fair. Thus:

"We hear too much of that!" a Negro militant told me angrily — " 'Be like us and we'll let you

in.' Equal opportunity — on the white man's ground, measured by his standards. Act like a white man; dress like a white man; talk like a white man; think like a white man. That's not the kind of equality we want!"

On its face, this is an extreme position, and most of the equal-opportunity advocates would consider it a tremendous step forward if Negro and white job applicants were selected by the same standards. But there are two special aspects of the militant's complaint that deserve consideration by a manager who wants to make an affirmative effort:

(1) There are subjective factors that influence selection, and a personnel man may find it difficult, at first, to set aside conscious or unconscious prejudice. Company policy is one thing; when responsibility for its practice depends on him, the personnel man may be overzealous in screening Negro applicants.

(2) White applicants are often judged by their work histories and craft training. A Negro with equivalent skills is likely to have acquired them in different ways, and in settings with which the personnel man is not familiar. One way to adjust the balance is to base selection more on job tests — the direct measurement of skills — rather than on background evidence.

In situations where Negroes have not been hired before, management may be tempted to experiment: hire one or two and see what happens. How will the white employees feel about it? If the goal is successful desegregation, one cannot ignore the parallel question: How will the Negro feel about it? How would a white worker feel if thrust into an all-Negro factory, alone? More than once, the subject of such an experiment has simply quit.

Often the best time to change is when a new department is opened, a new line installed, or a new shift added. It is likely to go more easily if a group of Negroes are included in a batch of new hires, rather than hiring one today, another next month. A new and rigid example of place would be instituted if a new machine were manned by an all-Negro crew. On the other hand, if several Negroes are hired, the group situation is likely to be better if they are associated in mixed work groups, rather than scattered in individual isolation.

Many companies have found it strategic to break the ice by hiring college-trained Negro personnel men. No doubt one reason is the input of special knowledge and perspective to the personnel staff. But even more important is the clear signal this gives to both employees and applicants. The job-seeker, Negro or white, gets the message at once. For instance:

A Louisville company hired two Negro interviewers and stationed them behind the long counter where applicants were received. Management expected that Negro applicants would prefer to be interviewed by Negroes, white applicants by whites. But applicants read the message differently, and approached whichever interviewer was free.

Hiring Professionals

In many large companies, the color line was first broken by the hiring of Negro scientists and engineers. More than 20 years ago a Negro chemist became research director of a large midwestern company. In the professional categories, desegregation seems to have been no problem where it has been undertaken. Among the 20 largest corporations I happen to know about, there are none without some Negro professionals at work, and promotion on the basis of ability seems not to be an issue.

Nearly all of the Negro professionals I have met in these settings are graduates of nonsegregated universities. Their professional integration predates their hiring by industry. They were educated with the same people they now work beside. The relationship has simply extended into a new environment. In a sense, industry did not desegregate here. It simply appropriated a desegregated pattern which began in the classroom.

No doubt the shortage of engineers contributed to the rapid disappearance of racial barriers in professional categories. It may also be a reason why recruiters for a number of large corporations have added the top-ranking Negro colleges and universities to the list of campuses they visit. (As a sidenote, some of them have been surprised to find that many of these "Negro colleges" are no longer all-Negro. The proportion of white students has increased year by year. In at least one case, they have become a majority!)

Hiring Office Workers

In a border-state high school I saw 11 Negro girls in a typing class of 33. Any local employer who chose to do so could "appropriate" this established group relationship for his own office. But male personnel people are often jit-

tery about any move that might upset the office girls. Status patterns develop in an office in bizarre and puzzling ways. Sometimes, though, these patterns are clear and blunt: on a washroom door in an Ohio plant, I saw a hand-lettered sign, OFFICE GIRLS ONLY. The factory girls came from the same backgrounds as the clerks and typists, some from the same families. They were the better paid, but it was the office girls who wore the fancy dresses to work.

When I was a government official some years ago, I had occasion to interview several girls, including one Negro, for a clerical job. At the end of the day my secretary, a young lady from Alabama, told me firmly that, if I hired the Negro, she could not work in the same room with her. Politely, I told her my intention was to hire the best qualified of the applicants: the Negro. If, in view of her feelings, she chose to resign, I would accept her resignation with regret. But, if she remained and refused to work with the new girl, she'd be fired. Three weeks later I saw them lunching together in the cafeteria.

One large company hired two Negro male accountants. In time, one was promoted and became the supervisor of several white keypunch operators. A few weeks later a personnel man talked with each of these girls. Admitting that the appointment had been a shock at first, each said this had not lasted. The new supervisor was capable, a good instructor, courteous, and fair. The interviewer reported two impressions he gathered from the interviews. First, the girls recognized that the supervisor was better educated than they. Secondly, he was a *man,* and women in industry are as keenly aware of their second-class status as are Negroes!

In achieving office desegregation, this suggests, there is considerable weight to both the male and the managerial prerogatives!

Training & Promotion

What can be done in plants where Negroes are already employed but seem to be confined by place to certain departments or categories? What if, despite open job bidding, the Negroes simply don't bid up?

In a New Jersey plant, I made a quick comparison of the original job applications of Negro and white workers. On the average, the Negroes had much less formal education. Several were marginal illiterates. In hiring, management had set lower standards for Negroes than for whites! The personnel man admitted this was so. White workers were expected to move up the ladder; Negroes were not. This may not be a common pattern, but it is well to check it out.

Management's Role

Many managements have adopted a defensive posture in the face of seniority-ability clauses in union contracts, feeling they have lost the right to choose men for promotion. No doubt this is often true, though current practices are frequently much more restrictive than contract language; and management, in many cases, has lost ground by not devising and using objective standards of ability. But, aside from this, there are two prerogatives usually open to management. One is to train workers. The other, perhaps too seldom exercised, is to encourage individual employees to develop their skills and to bid up.

Management has retained substantially more control over entrance to skilled-trade progressions. Few plants today have formal apprenticeships. Men bid in at the helper level and, thereafter, get most of their training informally, on the job.

These observations are no more than clues, not suggested lines of action. If restrictive place seems frozen into the plant structure, it would certainly be well to discover how and why. If management seeks change, this is the time to consider where initiative could be strategically applied. *Expectation* has much to do with the answer. If a qualified man, Negro or white, enters a training-progression system, it is a normal expectation that he will move up. Expectation enters into hiring and selection, and into placement, as well.

As Supervisors

What happens when a Negro is named foreman over a group of hourly workers? In such plants as the R. J. Reynolds operation, desegregation has encompassed this relationship without incident. But, obviously, this depends on the setting in which such a change occurs, and on the individual so named.

Most foremen occupy a nebulous position, neither part of the hourly group nor wholly part of management. In most industries, it is becoming rare for an hourly man to move all the way up into management. Foremanship is often the boundary. In some plants, foreman jobs go beg-

ging; no one seems to want the added responsibility, and the loss of the protection of the union contract, in exchange for a small boost in pay (in some cases, an actual cut) and whatever status the position carries.

In unionized plants, a clue may be offered by what happens inside the union. Hourly men with leadership qualities often turn to union office if they feel the road to management is closed. Many Negroes hold union offices as stewards, vice presidents, local presidents, and international representatives. Where Negroes play genuine leadership roles within the union, it is a fair assumption that a capable Negro foreman could hold his own.

But in a plant where Negroes are employed only as hourly workers, not in white-collar jobs, management might question the role into which a Negro foreman would be forced by circumstance. His position would be difficult indeed.

Then, too, in some plants, new engineers are often assigned as foremen as part of their development. What happens if a Negro engineer is so assigned? If rigid segregation patterns still exist in the hourly group, his position would be precarious. Would he supervise an all-white crew, or a crew whose Negro members were confined to laborer status? On the other hand, if the hourly group is well integrated, the engineer's status should give him a chance to test his ability.

In the final analysis, the development of the Negro supervisor will usually be contingent on how far desegregation has progressed in both the hourly and the salaried groups.

As Managers

Scattered through American industry are a few Negroes who have reached top-management status: vice presidents, department heads, regional managers, and so on. But there is no insistent demand by desegregationists for change at the top. Their prime concern is entrance jobs. This most definitely includes entrance jobs for Negro college graduates.

The Negro engineer and scientist have done reasonably well. Negro teachers are in demand. But the Negro liberal arts graduate has had hard going. Many a man who has been graduated with honors from a top-flight northern university has vainly searched for the kind of opening his classmates readily found.

Now a considerable number of large corporations are enrolling Negro trainees in their management-development programs. The trend is significant because of its future implications; trainees are expected to move up into positions of progressively greater responsibility. A few companies have boldly experimented in what might seem to be the most sensitve area of all, adding Negroes to their field sales organizations — and not for the sole purpose of calling on Negro customers either. One such salesman has made a fine record calling on industrial accounts in Texas.

A Philadelphia employment agency, interracial in its management and clientele, reports that the demand for qualified Negro executives, salesmen, and technical personnel exceeds the supply. Recently they have filled — or attempted to fill — requests from chemical, oil, aircraft, automobile, and business machine companies.

But while desegregationists are concerned with opening opportunities in management for college-trained Negroes, this is but a small part of the total problem with which they deal. Though the gains in recent years have been dramatic, the average Negro is still educationally handicapped. Economic pressures alone are responsible for many dropouts.

Thus, where Negroes have been added to the management rosters of large companies, as trainees or in higher posts, something more has happened than a lowering of the bars, a willingness to select applicants on ability alone. In most cases these companies have actively recruited Negroes. One top executive told me:

> "As we see it, management sets the tone for the whole company. If we mean what we say about equal opportunity — and we do — this is the way to show it, not to outsiders but to everyone on the payroll. It says loud and clear: this is the kind of company you work for."

Conclusion

It has not been my purpose here to advocate change, to argue for equal opportunity in moral, ethical, economic, or political terms. I realize that the road to equality is long and that the difficulties and obstacles of passage are real. In saying that any company is likely to become a target for militant desegregationists, I have done no more than capsule what anyone can see, read, and judge for himself.

When I characterize certain desegregationist

forces as "militant" and perhaps imply that groups such as the National Urban League are "moderate," I do not mean to suggest that, so far as industrial employment is concerned, they differ in their objectives or in their determination. It is more a matter of method and role.

The "militants" demand. They publicize. And they are resourceful in applying pressure at vulnerable points. In more than one case they have persuaded a company's management that it is time for a change. But the question "how" is left unanswered, and a hasty, unplanned change can fail disastrously. The successful changes have been planned and managed. The managers approaching such change have, in many cases, perhaps most, taken counsel with others who have experience to draw upon, directly, through the industrial members of the National Urban League, or in other ways.

And successful, peaceful change is, in the future as in the past, most likely to stem from a recognition by management of the distinction between *place* and *prejudice*. A quick dramatic change can hardly be effected in people's prejudices. But much can be, and has been, done in changing *place*, and in making the Negro's place in industrial jobs the same as that enjoyed by the white worker of equal ability.

THE Negro leader, the Negro social scientist, the Negro man of art and letters is disposed to view all social, economic, political, indeed, even aesthetic and philosophical issues from the Negro angle. What is more, he is expected to do so. He would seem entirely out of place if he spoke simply as a member of a community, a citizen of America or as a man of the world. In the existing American civilization he can grow to a degree of distinction, but always as a representative of 'his people', not as an ordinary American or an individual in humanity. He might protest; if he does it for the proper audience and in the proper forms, he is allowed to protest: but he protests as a Negro. He can criticize, but only as a Negro defending Negro interests. This is the social role awarded him, and he cannot step out of it. He is defined as a 'race man' regardless of the role he might wish to choose for himself. He cannot publicly argue about collective bargaining generally in America, the need of a national budgetary reform, monetary schemes for world organization, moral philosophies and aesthetic principles. . . . The Negro leader, sensing that his own people need him and conscious that his racial origin offers him an easy opportunity for a role in life, thus acquires his characteristic direction. Even women in modern times do not have their souls so pressed into one single narrow furrow of human interests by the tyrannic expectancy of society, although the women's lot in this, as in many other respects, offers the nearest analogy. The Negro genius is imprisoned in the Negro problem. There is throughout the entire history of the United States no single example of an exception to this rule important enough to be cited.

The difference in this respect between the Negro and other 'racial' minorities — the Jews, for example — is notable. The difference is not explainable simply in terms of differences in natural and cultural abilities between the two groups. A Jewish economist is not expected to be a specialist on Jewish labour. A Jewish sociologist is not assumed to confine himself always to studying the Ghetto. A Jewish singer is not doomed eternally to perform Jewish folk songs. A Jew is not out of place either as a governor of a state or as a planner of world reconstruction. The Jew is discriminated against in America, but there is a quantitative difference between this and the discrimination against the Negro which is so great that it becomes qualitative. On the intellectual level, which we are now discussing, the fettering of the Negro spirit within the Negro problem is not accomplished so much by simple discrimination as by the prejudice inherent even in the most friendly but restrictive expectancy, including the expectancy of the Negro people.

Gunnar Myrdal, *Value in Social Theory*, edited by Paul Streeten
New York, Harper & Brothers, 1958, pp. 91–93.

Organized Labor

1. Eliminate Actual Discrimination Against Negroes

1. CORE should Acheive Preferential Treatment

Long Run

10 Teachers

Economic Pressure

Rank and file People
Business Hires
Taft Hartly Law
slowly
Progress — change

Seniority

Craft Unions - don't control Hiring

Industrial Unions

Almost all this group from the end of the plant - Negroes Recognize

Strikes of steel workers

Organized Economically
sell
antagonize

Negro position in the Economy

Economic Pressure & Negro participation

we long life Business one

Jobs in the economy

Strike

Another strike

apprenticeship training in new york

openings in 1963

introduction by A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
JOSEPH MONSERRAT

A WDL PUBLICATION

apprenticeship training in new york

prepared by

the workers defense league

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the workers defense league

. . . a human rights organization devoted to full equality before the courts, on the job and in the union. Founded 25 years ago, WDL has steadily fought racial, economic and political exploitation. From Negro sharecroppers to British West Indian migrants and the Freedom Fighters of Hungary, WDL has stood for the rights of free men everywhere.

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Cover by E. Glaberman

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CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The Workers Defense League is glad to acknowledge the cooperation of the Bureau of Apprenticeship Training in the Department of Labor of the State of New York in providing the information upon which this handbook is based. The League has also drawn heavily from materials of the United States Department of Labor, particularly from its *Occupational Outlook Handbook.*

As a check upon factual accuracy, the pertinent pages in the handbook were sent to the various unions listed as having apprenticeship programs in their respective trades. We are grateful to those who replied and enabled us to correct or update our material. In other cases we assumed, as stated in our letter requesting assistance, that the information was correct if no indication of change was received.

In nearly all cases, and unless otherwise indicated, the number of job openings is that as of September, 1962, the latest figure available.

INTRODUCTION

THIS HANDBOOK is a compilation of apprenticeship opportunities in our city and state at the present time. It lists some three thousand openings for apprentices needed to train for skilled jobs, mainly in the building trades. It tells where to apply and what qualifications are needed. It also cites New York State law making discrimination illegal in appreticeship and on-the-job training. We quote the strong stand against discrimination taken by the AFL-CIO at its last convention.

One out of five young people will be jobless in the sixties. But minority youth are the hardest hit: Department of Labor figures for 1960 showed 17.8 per cent of the nonwhites in the 14-19 age group were unemployed as against 8.4 per cent of whites in the same group. The situation is worse today. The Mayor has reported that 77,000 young people are now seeking work in our city. At the same time, our national need for skilled workers is growing. It is estimated that present training programs to fill growth and replacement needs in the skilled trades fall short by as much as a million men.

This handbook is the beginning of an answer. But in addition, government contracts should do more than guarantee nondiscrimination; they should insist on a certain proportion of apprentices to each journeyman employed. Other industries and other unions not listed here should be urged and encouraged to undertake programs. Vocational guidance and other youth counselors must steer young people towards and not away from the skilled trades. And youngsters should be encouraged to seek jobs in those trades (indicated in the handbook) where apprentices are selected from those already on the job. Information about new opportunities should be publicized as soon as they open. This handbook will be updated and reissued.

But above all, the opportunities we now know to exist, listed here, must be followed up. It is a task that demands the cooperation of youth-serving agencies, educators, industry and labor, and every citizen who is committed to equal opportunity as provided by law. We want to know what happens when Negro and Puerto Rican boys apply for apprenticeships, and we want to know why. The Workers Defense League has begun the effort; its success depends upon broad community action.

—A. Philip Randolph

—Joseph Monserrat

FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICES

The *AFL-CIO* (the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations) in their 1961 Civil Rights Resolution say this:

We are for non-discrimination clauses on account of race, creed, color or national origin as a standard to be observed in all apprenticeship training programs.

We ask our affiliates to take initiative in a sustained effort to expand apprenticeship and training opportunities for all workers and, through joint apprenticeship committees in which they take part, insure that qualified applicants be accepted without regard to race, creed, color or national origin.

The State of New York has provided since 1945 that:

The opportunity to obtain employment without discrimination because of race, creed, color or national origin is hereby recognized and declared to be a civil right.

It shall be an unlawful employment practice:

1. For an employer, because of the race, creed, color or national origin of any individual, to refuse to hire or employ or to bar or to discharge from employment such individual or to discriminate against such individual in compensation or in terms, conditions or privileges of employment.
2. For a labor organization, because of the race, creed, color or national origin of any individual, to exclude or expel from its membership such individual or to discriminate in any way against any of its members or against any employer or any individual employed by an employer.

The law covers apprentices specifically:

1. It shall be an unlawful discriminatory practice for an employer, labor organization, employment agency or any joint labor-management committee controlling apprentice-training programs:
   a) To deny or to withhold from any qualified person because of his race, creed, color or national origin the right to be admitted to or participate in a guidance program, an apprenticeship training program, on-the-job training program, or other occupational training or retraining program;
   b) To discriminate against any qualified person in his pursuit of such programs or to discriminate against such a person in the terms, conditions or privileges of such programs because of race, creed, color or national origin.

The City of New York is, of course, included under the New York State law against discrimination and its specific provisions on apprenticeship.

The city has also taken steps to prevent discrimination in any public contracts in provisions:

a) That in the hiring of employees for the performance of work under this contract or any subcontract hereunder, neither the Contractor, Subcontractor, nor any person acting on behalf of such Contractor or Subcontractor, shall by reason of race, creed, color or national origin discriminate against any citizen of the State of New York who is qualified and available to perform the work to which the employment relates;

b) That neither the Contractor, Subcontractor, nor any person on his behalf shall in any manner discriminate against or intimidate any employee hired for the performance of work under this contract on account of race, creed, color, or national origin.

The United States insists on Equal Employment Opportunity in the Federal Government and on Federal Contracts.

Executive Order No. 10590 of January 18, 1955, prohibits discrimination against any employee or applicant for employment in the Federal Government because of race, color, religion, or national origin.

Executive Order No. 10925 of March 6, 1961, provides:

The contractor will not discriminate because of race, creed, color, or national origin. The contractor will take affirmative action to ensure that applicants are employed, and that employees are treated during employment, without regard to their race, creed, color, or national origin. Such action shall include but shall not be limited to . . . selection for training, including apprenticeship.

The order states that: Discrimination because of race, creed, color, or national origin is contrary to the constitutional principles and policies of the United States.

APPRENTICESHIP PROGRAMS

BOILERMAKER (*Field and Repair*)

Some rise in the number of job opportunities for boilermakers can be expected in the 1960's, but most openings will result from replacement needs.

Boilermakers, layout men, and fitup men specialize in the repairing, fabricating, and assembling of boilers, tanks, vats, and similar vessels made of metal plate. Boilermakers are primarily engaged in the repairing and erecting of vessels. This repair work requires workers who are all-around craftsmen; fitup and layout men are more specialized.

Boilermakers doing repair work in the field first determine the cause of trouble. They may then dismantle the boilers, vessels or other units, and make repairs such as patching weak spots with metal stock, replacing defective sections with new parts, or strengthening joints. The repair and installation work performed by boilermakers must often meet standards set by state and local boiler-and-pressure-vessel laws.

The union minimum wage scale in the trade averaged $4.11 in July, 1960, with a range from $3.75 to $4.81.

APPRENTICESHIP PROGRAM

In apprenticeship, the trainee works under the close supervision of a journeyman who instructs him in the skills of the trade, starting with how to use its tools and machines. Programs usually provide for about four years of on-the-job training and about 600 hours of instruction in blueprint reading, shop mathematics, welding techniques, and shop metalurgical science covering stress and strain of metals.

Qualifications

1. An apprentice must be at least 18 years of age and preferably not older than 26. The Committee may waive the age limitation for veterans, men with special qualifications, or reasons they feel will benefit the program.
2. Applicants must satisfy the Committee that they have sufficient education to warrant indenture. They may be requested to submit a transcript of their courses and grades.
3. Applicants must possess the ability, aptitude and physical capacity to perform and master the work of the trade.
4. Applicants must be American citizens or in the process of being naturalized.

Approximate Number of Openings

In September, 1962: 6.

Where to Apply

Local Lodge No. 5 of the International Brotherhood of Boilermakers, Iron Shipbuilders, Blacksmiths, Forgers and Helpers
5-31 50th Avenue, Long Island City, N.Y.

BOOKBINDER

Printed items such as books, magazines, pamphlets and small calendars must be folded, sewed, stapled or bound after they leave the printing shop. Much of this work is done by skilled bookbinders. There were about 23,000 bookbinders nationally in 1960; most of them were employed in shops whose chief business was bookbinding. However, a considerable number were employed in the bindery departments of large book and commercial printing plants and large libraries.

There are several different kinds of binders: edition and pamphlet binders bind books and magazines printed in large quantities; trade or job binders do binding work on contract for printers, publishers or other customers; looseleaf binders bind ledgers for bookkeeping and accounting volumes. Skilled bookbinders seldom perform all the different bindery tasks.

A July 1960 survey showed that the union minimum hourly wage was generally more than $2.60 an hour.

APPRENTICESHIP PROGRAM

A four- or five-year apprenticeship, which includes on-the-job training as well as related classroom instruction, is generally required. Apprenticeship programs may vary considerably among the various types of bookbinding shops. Sometimes the emphasis will be on modern machine methods or sometimes on artistic designing of leather covers. For the less skilled binding occupations the training period may last from several months to two years.

Qualifications

To be an apprentice the applicant must be 18 years of age or more; he must be of sound mind and in good physical health. He must bring a doctor's certificate obtained as a result of a medi-

cal examination taken within three months of application for apprenticeship. He must have completed at least two years of high school education or its equivalent. He will also have to pass a qualifying examination given by the New York School of Printing. Preference is given to boys who have worked in the trade for six months.

Approximate Number of Openings

In September, 1962: 11. Due to the present unemployment situation, the union is not contemplating any new apprentices in the industry at the present time. [March, 1963].

WHERE TO APPLY

Paper Cutters & Bookbinders Local Union No. 119
International Brotherhood of Bookbinders
27 Union Square, New York 7, N.Y.

BREWER

Brewing has been a steadily growing industry since the relegalization of beer and ale in 1933, although the number of plants has leveled off considerably, making for greater stability.

The brewing process begins with grinding malt in a specially designed mill. Ground malt is then mashed in water at exact temperatures to make wort. The wort is then boiled with hops and other ingredients. The next process is cooling and aeration, then fermentation. Extraction of numerous important byproducts makes the process more complicated and the need for scientific exactitude paramount. Brewing is composed of many highly skilled crafts.

APPRENTICESHIP PROGRAM

The apprentice learns to maintain the machinery of the trade. The program consists of four years of on-the-job training with two years of evening vocational school training in machine shop mathematics.

Qualifications

1. Applicants for apprenticeship by individuals unconnected with the trade shall be between the ages of 18 and 23 years. Honorably discharged veterans who entered service prior to their 23rd birthday shall be excluded from these provisions; other exceptions may be made by the Apprenticeship Training Committee.
2. Preference shall be given to applicants having a high school education or its equivalent.
3. Applicants should possess the physical fitness necessary to achieve a machinist skill.
4. Credit may be given to present employees, or others who become apprentices (if their experience and education meet the requirements of these standards) by action of the Apprenticeship Training Committee.

Wages

The apprentices earn 50 per cent of the journeyman salary with a 5 per cent increase every six months. On the average, a brewer earns $4.19 an hour.

Approximate Number of Openings

In September, 1962: 1 (but there are continued efforts to enlarge the program).

WHERE TO APPLY

Mr. Sid Fisher
Brewers Board of Trade, Inc. and
International Association of Machinists, District No. 15
7 East 15th Street, New York, N.Y.

BRICKLAYER

Employment opportunities for bricklayers are expected to rise rapidly with increased construction work in the 1960s. Including vacancies due to death or retirement, about 100,000 new bricklayers will be needed nationally between 1960 and 1970.

A bricklayer builds walls, partitions, fireplaces and other structures of brick. He is also called on to work with other materials, such as concrete, cinder and gypsum blocks, structural tile and terra cotta (a decorative tile).

In his work, the bricklayer first spreads a layer or "bed" of soft mortar. He then sets the brick down, working it into the right position by hand, and cuts off the excess mortar. The line of bricks is kept even by a tightly stretched cord level with the bricks, and is checked with a mason's level. At the end of a row, the bricklayer trims the mortar with the point of a trowel to give the job a neat appearance.

Being a bricklayer calls for careful, neat, accurate work. Most often hand tools are used, including chisels, trowels, bricklayers' hammers and masons' levels, but power saws are sometimes used to cut the bricks. Journeymen bricklayers are helped by hod carriers, who keep them sup-

plied with bricks and other materials, mix the mortar, and move scaffolding.

The average union wage for bricklayers as of July, 1960 was $4.17 an hour and $4.89 in New York City. The yearly wage of a bricklayer is not as large as these rates indicate, however, due to lay-offs in bad weather.

APPRENTICESHIP PROGRAM

The apprenticeship program generally consists of three to four years of on-the-job training. The apprentice learns, among other things, to use, care for, and handle safely the tools, machinery and equipment of the trade. In addition he receives related classroom instruction in blueprint reading, layout work and measurement.

Qualifications

The applicant should be between the ages of 17 and 24, but this age requirement may be waived for veterans. He should also have a high-school diploma.

Wages

Hourly wage rates for apprentices usually start at half of the journeyman's rate. They increase by about 5 per cent in each six-month period until a rate of 85 to 90 per cent is reached. Allowances are made for veterans and people with on-the-job training.

Approximate Number of Openings

In September, 1962: 351.

WHERE TO APPLY

Joint Apprenticeship Committee,
Building Contractors and Mason Builders Association of New York and Bricklayers, Masons & Plasterers Union of America
178 East 85th Street, New York 28, N.Y.

CARPENTER

Carpenters comprise the largest single group of skilled workers in the country and account for approximately two-thirds of all building craftsmen. (More than one million carpenters were employed in 1960.) They are employed in almost every type of construction activity. Work is usually divided into two broad categories, "rough carpentry" and "finish carpentry."

In rough work, carpenters erect the wood framework in buildings including subflooring, sheathing, partitioning. They install heavy timbers used in the building of docks, railroad trestles and heavy instruments. Rough carpentry also includes the building of forms to enclose concrete until it has hardened, and the erection of scaffolding and temporary buildings. After rough carpentry is completed, finish carpenters install moldings, wood paneling, cabinets and window sashes, door frames and hardware. They also build stairs and lay floors.

Union minimum hourly wage rates, as of July 1, 1960, averaged $3.78 nationally and $4.35 in New York City. Young men who obtain the all-around training given under apprenticeship programs will have especially favorable long-range job prospects.

APPRENTICESHIP PROGRAM

The apprenticeship program usually consists of four years of on-the-job training, in addition to a minimum of 144 hours a year of related classroom instruction. During this period an apprentice learns elementary structural design and becomes familiar with the common systems of frame and form construction. He learns to use, care for, and handle safely the tools, machines, equipment and materials in the trade. He learns how to build forms for holding cement and rough framing, outside and inside finishing work, and how to fit hardware and lay out doors, windows and partitions. He also receives related classroom instruction in drafting and blueprint reading, and mathematics applicable to layout work.

Qualifications

The applicant should be between the ages of 17 and 25 and he should have a high school diploma or its equivalent. He should be of good moral character and physical condition; have a good sense of balance and no fear of working on structures high off the ground.

Wages

Hourly wage rates for apprentices usually start at half the journeymen's rate and increase by about 5 per cent in each six-month period until a rate of 85 to 90 per cent is reached. Allowances will be made for veterans and people with on-the-job training.

Approximate Number of Openings

In September, 1962: 938.

WHERE TO APPLY

Joint Apprenticeship Committee of the Woodworking Trades—The United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America in cooperation with the Building Trades Apprenticeship Commission of the City of New York
204 East 23rd Street, New York 10, N.Y.

COMPOSITOR *(Newspaper)*

Skilled composing-room workers are employed in newspaper plants, commercial printing shops, in periodical and book-printing establishments, and in typographical composition shops which specialize in typesetting. Job opportunities are expected to increase, as in other branches of the printing trades nationally.

Hand compositors make up the oldest composing-room occupation. Compositors set type by hand for fine printing—for advertisements, for the title pages of books and, in some cases, the text of books. The work requires highly skilled craftsmen with artistic ability because the type must be arranged and spaced to produce a well-balanced and pleasing effect. Typesetting machine operators are craftsmen who operate semi-automatic machines which set type much more rapidly than the hand compositor.

In setting type by hand, the compositor, reading from the manuscript copy, first sets each line of type in a "composing stick" (which holds type in place) letter by letter and line by line. When this stick is full, he slides the completed lines onto a shallow metal tray called a "galley." Then he assembles and arranges machine and hand-set type and any needed engravings into pages. The pages are put into proper sequence for folding in the bindery and locked into forms.

The union minimum hourly wage for newspaper compositors averaged $3.37 on July 1, 1960.

APPRENTICESHIP PROGRAM

Apprenticeship usually covers a six-year period unless the apprentice has previous training or schooling. Progressively advanced training is supplemented by classroom instruction. The apprentice learns elementary hand composition, page makeup, lockup and lineup and proofreading. After basic training as a hand compositor, the apprentice receives intensive training in one or more specialized fields, such as the operation of typesetting machines, including phototypesetting and teletypesetting machines, as well as hand composition and photocomposition.

Qualifications

An applicant must be between 16 and 23 years of age and must submit a birth certificate. Allowance will be made for time served in the armed forces. He must have at least a high school education. He must be in good health and must submit a record of physical examination. He must also pass an examination as to educational qualifications to enter the industry.

Wages

Apprentices are paid according to a predetermined wage scale which increases as the apprenticeship period advances.

Approximate Number of Openings

In 1961: 132. In 1962: none reported.

WHERE TO APPLY

Joint Apprenticeship Committee of the
New York Typographical Union No. 6
62 West 14th Street, New York, N.Y.

ELECTRICIAN

During the 1960's the number of construction electricians is expected to rise rapidly at a faster rate than employment in most of the other skilled building trades. Many jobs will result from large increases in construction activity. There will also be greater requirements for electrical outlets and switches in homes to accomodate the growing use of appliances.

Construction electricians lay out, install and test electrical fixtures, and install and wire electrical systems — systems used to provide heat, light, power, air conditioning and refrigeration in residences, office buildings, factories, hospitals and schools. They also install and connect electrical machinery, equipment and controls.

An experienced construction electrician who has learned all aspects of the craft through an apprenticeship program can transfer readily to other types of electrical work. Much of the work is outdoors; it is somewhat dangerous and requires considerable physical strength.

APPRENTICESHIP PROGRAM

The apprenticeship program requires five years of on-the-job training in addition to a minimum of 144 hours of related classroom instruction in each year. In a typical training program the apprentice learns to use and care for the tools of his trade. He is also taught drafting, electric layout, blueprint reading, mathematics and electrical theory.

Qualifications

An applicant not previously connected with the trade must be 18 years of age and have a high school diploma. Exceptions may be made by the Committee for those beyond the age limit who

have engaged in the trade or who have college credits in engineering or other unusual qualifications. Photocopies of birth certificate and high school diploma should be brought to the Joint Committee by each applicant.

Wages

First 6 months, $1.80; second 6 months, $1.95; third 6 months, $2.15; fourth 6 months, $2.30; fifth 6 months, $2.50; sixth 6 months, $2.70; fourth year, $2.90; fifth year, $3.50.

Approximate Number of Openings

In September, 1962: 1175.

WHERE TO APPLY

Mr. Robert McCormick
Joint Industry Board of the Electrical Industry
New York, N.Y., and
Local No. 3, International Brotherhood
of Electrical Workers
130 East 25th Street, New York 10, N.Y.

Sign Electricians

Local No. 3, IBEW also has an apprenticeship training program for sign electricians. Applicants for apprenticeship must meet the requirements of the employer and the union. They are subject to the specific provisions as noted in the Labor Bargaining Agreement, Page 1 of the Standards of Apprenticeship. (Page 1 is appended.) Provision 1 applies directly to the applicant —it determines his starting age. Provisions 2 through 7 apply to the employer and apprentice —they set down wages, hours, number of apprentices hired in proportion to journeymen and the responsibility of the employer. Provision 8 requires that graduate apprentices be given a Certificate of Completion, and Provision 9 prohibits discrimination on the basis of race, creed or color.

Approximate Number of Openings

In September, 1962: 21.
Apply at above address.

ELECTRIC MOTOR REPAIRMAN

The long-term trend toward greater use of electrical and electronic equipment means that employment opportunities in this field are good and will continue to increase. One great advantage that skilled workers in this trade have is that of being able to transfer to different types of electric maintenance jobs in various industries with little or no retraining.

A large part of the electric repairman's job consists of periodically inspecting equipment to detect and repair defects before breakdown occurs. In large plants, workers may specialize in the maintenance and repair of particular electrical equipment such as transformers, motors or welding machines. In small plants, or in large office buildings or apartment houses, the skilled electrician is usually responsible for all types of electrical work.

Straight-time hourly earnings for maintenance electricians are generally $2.50 to $3.

APPRENTICESHIP PROGRAM

Apprenticeship usually lasts about four years. It includes on-the-job training and related classroom instruction in such subjects as mathematics, electrical and electronic theory, and blueprint reading. Training may include: motor repair; wire splicing; commercial and industrial wiring; installation of light and power equipment; installation and repair of electronic controls and circuits; welding, brazing and burning.

Qualifications

Applicants for apprenticeship shall meet the requirements of the Joint Apprenticeship Committee and be at least 18 years of age, in good physical condition, and have a high school education or its equivalent. The Committee may make exceptions for those connected with the trade or those who have special qualifications.

Wages

Apprentices usually start at about 60 percent of the journeyman's basic hourly pay rate. They receive increases every six months until in the last year of training they are receiving 85 to 90 percent of the journeyman's rate.

Approximate Number of Openings

In September, 1962: 6.

WHERE TO APPLY

Joint Industry Board of the Electrical Industry
and Local Union No. 3, International
Brotherhood of Electrical Workers,
Motor Repair Division
130 East 25th Street, New York, N.Y.

ENGRAVER

Opportunities to enter the skilled printing trades are expected to rise in the sixties, even though technological changes are affecting print-

ing methods and the number of workers employed. Some openings always occur because of the need to replace craftsmen who retire or die. But a continued rise in the volume of printed material is expected because of population growth, the rising level of education, and the trend toward greater use of printed material for industrial and commercial purposes.

Among the most highly skilled of the printing craftsmen are the steel- and copper-plate engravers who cut or etch lettering and designs into plates by hand or machine. They are employed in small engraving shops.

The annual earnings of printing craftsmen depend not only on hourly rates of pay but also on how regularly they are employed. Printing has fewer seasonal fluctuations than most manufacturing industries, however. In January, 1961, production workers in the industry averaged $2.81 an hour.

APPRENTICESHIP PROGRAM

Printing apprenticeships usually last from four to six years. Basically it is on-the-job training although classwork in related technical subjects is included. Most employers require a high school education or its equivalent, and knowledge of the basic principles of chemistry and physics is becoming more important. Artistic sense or training is an asset.

Qualifications

An apprentice must be at least 18 years old. In the beginning his duties will acquaint him with the nature of the work in general and allow judgment as to his qualifications after the probationary period.

After this, the process of learning followed is flexible, taking into account the wide variety of kinds of dies and designs required of the trade.

Wages

Apprentices start at 40 to 50 per cent of the basic rate for journeymen in the shop. Wages are increased periodically, usually every six months, until by the final six months the apprentice is receiving 80 to 95 per cent.

Approximate Number of Openings

In September, 1962: 6.

WHERE TO APPLY

Engravers J.C.C. (Lodge No. 2136)
of New York City
7 East 15th Street, New York 11, N.Y.

FOLDING BOX ADJUSTER

Employment in the paper products industry is expected to rise about 15 per cent in the decade 1960-1970, as it did from 1950 to 1960. This makes the outlook for those able to enter the industry good. Folding boxes are a specialized part of that industry and pressmen a highly skilled craft within it. As noted under qualifications below, it is often possible and desirable to take an unskilled job within the industry as an initial step toward securing skilled training, There are at least four different types of skilled work associated with this industry: maintenance mechanics (folding-box machine adjusters), die makers, cutting and creasing pressmen, letter press pressman.

The maintenance mechanic keeps machinery and equipment in good working order; when breakdowns occur he determines the cause of the trouble and makes the necessary repairs.

Die makers have a broad knowledge of machinery operation; they are highly skilled and creative workers. They construct metal forms (dies) which are used in stamping and forging operations.

Cutting and creasing pressmen also operate all types of machinery. They prepare work, lock up machinery, set grippers and feeders, maintain quality and production control.

The letterpress pressmen's basic duties are to "make ready" and tend the presses while they are in operation. The object of "make ready" is to insure printing impressions that are distinct and uniform. They do this by placing pieces of paper of exactly the right thickness underneath low levels of press plates, and by attaching pieces of tissue paper to the surfaces of the cylinder which makes the impression.

The average wage of the journeyman is approximately $2.80 per hour.

APPRENTICESHIP PROGRAM

The apprentice in all four areas learns to use and set up the tools of his trade. The four-to-five-year program consists of on-the-job and classroom training. Aside from learning procedures directly connected with their particular specialty, apprentices learn trade theory, mechanical drawing, shop mechanics, original and special layout, blueprints, economics and safety procedures.

Qualifications

1. Apprentices may be taken from present employees who have aptitude and desire

to train for a specific job.

2. Firms are to recruit trainees themselves with the help and advice of the Apprenticeship Committee.
3. Applicants should be from 18 to 28 years old, but veterans will be given special consideration.
4. Arrangements are made with the U.S. Employment Service for aptitude tests for prospective trainees.
5. Applicants are given a thorough physical examination.
6. Names, addresses, ages, dates of birth, veteran status and previous experience in the industry should be sent to the Apprenticeship Committee.

Wages

First 6 months, $1.95; second 6 months, $2.00; finally in the last period, $2.59.

Approximate Number of Openings

In September, 1962: 15.

WHERE TO APPLY

Greater New York Folding Box and Display Manufacturers Association, Inc.
1 DeKalb Avenue, Brooklyn, N.Y., and the
Folding Box, Corrugated Box and Display Workers Local 381
853 Broadway, New York, N.Y.

GLAZIER

There are not many glaziers in the United States. The work is highly specialized, and those employed work mostly in the big cities. Nationwide, there may be several thousand openings for new glaziers in the sixties.

A glazier's job is to cut and install glass. He first cuts the sheet of glass to size and lays a bed of soft putty. The glass is then pressed into place and held by metal clips while more putty is put around the edges to keep out moisture. On special jobs, such as stained-glass windows, other materials, like lead, are used instead of putty. Often, if the sheets are not cut to size beforehand, the glazier has to shape them exactly to size.

A glazier uses hand tools, such as glass cutters and putty knives, as well as power-cutting tools.

Wages for glaziers are slightly below average for the construction industry. The national average in July 1960 was $3.58 an hour; in New York City, $4.25. The annual income is less than it might seem, however, since there are many layoffs due to bad weather.

APPRENTICESHIP PROGRAM

The apprenticeship program for glaziers usually runs for three years. This includes on-the-job training and at least 144 hours a year of classroom work. The apprentice is taught how to use the tools and materials of the trade, and is trained in the glazing of wood- and metal-framed doors, windows and other openings, installing store windows, structural glass, mirrors, showcases, automobile glass and shower doors, replacing glass, and proper scaffolding.

Qualifications

An applicant for the apprenticeship program must be between 18 and 21 years old, preferably with a high-school education.

Wages

A glazier apprentice usually starts at half of the journeyman rate and is given raises until he reaches the full journeyman rate at the end of the three years of training. Applicants who have had experience usually start higher and finish the program earlier.

Approximate Number of Openings

In September, 1962: 23.

WHERE TO APPLY

The Window and Plate Glass Dealers Association
711 Third Avenue, New York
Glaziers Union, Local 1087
83 E. 4th St., New York, N. Y.
If you wish to work with Stained Glass you may apply at New York Stained and Lead Glass Association and Decorative Glass Protective Association of New York and Vicinity, Local Union #520
711 Third Avenue, New York

The requirements are the same as above, but exceptions will be made for veterans of World War II or those who have unusual qualifications.

IRON WORKER

Employment is expected to increase substantially by 1970. In addition to job openings resulting from the growth of this trade, the need to replace experienced workers who retire or leave the trade for other reasons will provide several thousand job opportunities for new workers each year.

Structural and ornamental iron workers and reinforcing iron workers (rodmen) erect, assemble, or install fabricated structural metal products in the construction of industrial, commercial, and large residential buildings. Although these are distinct trades, many craftsmen are skilled in, and do the work of, two or all three trades.

Structural iron workers erect the steel framework of bridges, buildings, and other structures including metal storage tanks and overhead crane runways that support heavy equipment. They install steel floor decking and the doors and frames of vaults.

Ornamental iron workers install metal stairways, catwalks, floor gratings, iron ladders, metal window sashes and doors, grilles and screens, metal cabinets, safety deposit boxes; lampposts, gates and fences, and decorative ironwork on balconies.

Reinforcing iron workers set steel bars in concrete forms to reinforce concrete structures. Although most of these workers are employed on new construction, they also do some alteration work.

Union minimum hourly wage rates for structural iron workers and rodmen averaged $3.96 and $3.86 as of July 1, 1960; the rates for ornamental iron workers are generally about the same. Much working time is lost through weather conditions but, on the other hand, earnings are increased by considerable overtime.

APPRENTICESHIP PROGRAM

Apprenticeship programs are under the supervision of local joint union-management Apprenticeship Committees. They usually include three years of on-the-job training and a minimum of 144 hours a year of related classroom work in subjects such as drafting, blueprint reading, and mathematics applicable to layout work.

On-the-job instruction is given either by the foreman or an experienced journeyman. The apprentice learns to use, care for and handle safely the tools, machines, equipment, and materials commonly used in the trade; read blueprints and work drawings; form, shape, drill, tap, and erect and assemble various metal structures; lay out and assemble steel stairs, fire escapes, grilles, railings, fences, doors, and related metal structures. He also learns arc and gas welding; gas cutting, bolting, and riveting; and how to repair and alter metal structures.

Qualifications

1. Applicants should be American citizens.
2. They should be at least 18 years of age.
3. They must fill in an application form furnished by the Committee (veterans must attach their service records).
4. They must be physically fit for the work of the trade.

Wages

Hourly wage rates for apprentices start at not less than 60 per cent of the journeyman rate and are increased regularly until the journeyman's wage is reached at the end of the apprenticeship.

Approximate Number of Openings

In September, 1962: 183.

For stone derrickman:	1*
Ornamental (a)	36
Ornamental (b)	93
Structural	53

WHERE TO APPLY

International Association of Bridge, Structural and Ornamental Iron Workers, Local Unions Nos. 40 and 361, AFL, I.A.B.S.O.—IW
Local 361—530 Atlantic Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y.
Local 40—673 Broadway, New York, N. Y.

JEWELER—DIAMOND SETTER

A jeweler works with precious stones and metals, such as diamonds, emeralds, silver, gold, and platinum; he makes rings, bracelets and other precious jewelry by hand. Often jewelers follow their own design; at other times they follow a prepared design. They work with both hand and power tools, including drills, files, soldering equipment and jewelers' lathes. Their work is very delicate, and calls for great precision since very expensive materials are used.

Although it is a small craft, there are often openings for skilled jewelers, especially in New York, the center for jewelry manufacturing in America.

The union contract as of July 1960 calls for a minimum of $2.80 an hour for diamond setters. Jewelers work a 35-hour week with time and a half for overtime. Often they are called upon to

*Applicants for stone derrickman must appear before the Joint Apprenticeship Committee accompanied by a sponsor. Applications should be made to the Stone Derrickman & Riggers Joint Committee, c/o Building Trades Employers Association, 711 Third Avenue, New York, N.Y.

put in many hours of overtime during the Christmas and Easter seasons.

APPRENTICESHIP PROGRAM

The apprenticeship program for diamond setters runs about four years; for other jewelers, two to four years, depending on the skills required. During this time, the apprentice is given on-the-job training in the techniques of the trade, as well as classroom work in design, the quality of stones, the chemistry of metals, and other subjects. On the job, he starts at simple tasks such as soldering, and works up to the more complicated skills. Mechanical aptitude is needed and, because of the close work, good finger dexterity and excellent eyesight.

Qualifications

The applicant must be at least 18 years old, with a high-school education. It is helpful if high school work includes some physics or chemistry, mechanical drawing and art. Because jewelers work with precious materials, the apprentice is bonded, which requires an investigation of personal background and character.

Wages

According to the union contract for 1960-63, apprentices start at $1.25 an hour and receive a 5 cent an hour raise every three months for the first nine months of the program. After that, they get 10 cents more every three months until they reach the minimum wage for a journeyman jeweler in their job classification.

Approximate Number of Openings

In September, 1962: 45.

WHERE TO APPLY

Jewelry Industry Joint Apprenticeship Committee, International Jewelry Workers Union #1
133 W. 44th St., New York 36, N. Y.

LITHOGRAPHER

Lithography is a rapidly growing industry and offers good job opportunities. Nearly everything printed by letterpress can also be done by lithography: books, calendars, maps, posters, labels, office forms, sheet music and even newspapers. It has particular advantages for material containing any type of illustrations.

Several processes are involved in lithography and there is a specialized group of workers for each: cameramen, artists and letterers, strippers, platemakers, and pressmen.

Wage rates vary considerably within the industry depending on the particular craft and degree of skill required, and the type and size equipment used. The range goes from $2.74 to $5.15 an hour.

APPRENTICESHIP PROGRAM

A four- or five-year apprenticeship is required. Although emphasis is upon the particular craft favored by the applicant, an attempt is made to make the apprentice familiar with all the lithographic occupations. Background in photography or art is helpful.

Qualifications

Applicants must be at least 18 years of age and not more than 25. Exceptions may be made by the employer in the case of World War II veterans. An applicant must be physically able to perform the work of the trade.

Approximate Number of Openings

In September, 1962: 7.

WHERE TO APPLY

The Independent Employers of New York City and Vicinity and Amalgamated Lithographers of America, Local #1
113 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.

MARBLE SETTER *(Carver, Cutter)*

Although there are relatively few marble setters, job opportunities are expected to be good due to the present construction boom. Marble work is relatively expensive, but the demand for its unusual qualities will remain high in large cities.

A marble setter's job is to set and fix in place blocks of marble, which are used either for decoration or for structural support. In decoration, pre-cut slabs of marble are put in place, with plaster on the back. The worker then plasters and "points up" (finishes smoothly) the joints and braces the marble until the plaster dries. In structural work, he must often cut the blocks to size; they are then lowered into place and set, much like bricks. Where the blocks are pre-cut, they are usually numbered and must be set in order. The union wages for marble setters averaged $3.91 in July 1960. They varied from city to city from $3 to $4.28.

APPRENTICESHIP PROGRAM

The apprenticeship program for marble setters lasts three years. It includes 6,000 hours of on-the-job training, where the worker is taught to use the tools of the trade, such as hand and power cutters and polishers, and proper selection of materials. There is also classroom instruction in such subjects as blueprint reading, layout, practical mathematics and measurement sketching.

Qualifications

The applicant must be at least 18 years old. Usually, a high school education is required. In addition, he must be in good physical condition and have an eye for quick alignment of the materials.

Wages

An apprentice starts at between 50 and 60 per cent of the skilled worker's wage. This is increased throughout the program until in the last part of his apprenticeship, the worker gets 95 per cent of the journeyman's wage.

Approximate Number of Openings

In September, 1962: 17.

WHERE TO APPLY

Joint Marble Industry Apprenticeship Committee
c/o Marble Workers Union No. 4
321 East 73rd Street, New York 21, N.Y.

MILLWRIGHT

Millwrights are skilled workers who move and install heavy industrial machinery and other equipment. These workers must have a thorough knowledge of the complex industrial equipment on which they work because they frequently take apart, move together and align equipment. More than 70,000 millwrights were at work in 1960 in the automobile, paper and woodworking, chemical and construction industries.

In addition to moving and installing equipment, millwrights often repair and maintain conveyors, cranes, hoists, scaffolds, pumps and other industrial equipment. Such work may include oiling and greasing machinery, replacing worn and broken belts, and wielding metal parts.

The earnings of millwrights depend upon the city where they are employed as well as the type of business in which their employer is engaged. Average hourly earnings of millwrights employed in large metropolitan areas range from $2.16 to $3.10.

APPRENTICESHIP PROGRAM

The apprenticeship program generally lasts four years. Apprentices are given shop training in dismantling, moving, erecting and repairing machinery and other equipment. They are also trained in floor layout and installation of other equipment.

Qualifications

The applicant must be between 18 and 26 years of age. Exceptions may be made in the case of veterans of World War II and preference will be given to them. The applicant must have graduated from high school and be physically able to perform the work. Applicants must also meet the employment requirements of the employing company.

Wages

The wages of the apprentice start at about half those of the skilled worker and progress to the full rate by the end of the training period.

Approximate Number of Openings

In September, 1962: 15.

WHERE TO APPLY

Millwright Employers Association
Millwright and Machinery Erectors and Joint Apprenticeship Committee, Woodworking Trades of New York City
175 S. Oxford St. & 484 12th St., Brooklyn, N. Y.

PAINTER—PAPERHANGER

The demand for painters and paperhangers is expected to increase slowly during the sixties. Developments such as the use of spray guns cut down on the need for these skills, as does the smaller use of wallpaper, but these trends are offset by the increase in construction. About 10,000 new jobs are expected nationally in these trades each year.

The painter's job is first to prepare the surface that is to be painted. To do this, he removes loose paint and fills nail holes and other holes, and sands down rough spots. In many jobs, a prime or sealer coat of paint must be applied before the finish coat. The worker then applies the paint, using a brush, roller or spray gun. He must be able to handle his tools quickly and accurately, as well as know the characteristics of the different types of paint.

The paperhanger installs wallpaper. Before the paper can be applied old coats must be removed. Often, to get a smooth surface, the paper-

hanger must do minor plaster work. When the surface is ready, he measures and cuts the paper, spreads paste on the back, and hangs it in strips. In patterned wallpaper, he must make sure that the patterns match where the strips meet. He then smoothes the paper and cuts off the excess.

Painters and paperhangers make a little less than the average for the building trades. In July 1960, the average for painters was $3.55 an hour; for paperhangers, it was $3.52. The range across the country for painters was from $2.45 to $4.55, for paperhangers from $2.55 to $3.98. Both trades lose time due to bad weather.

APPRENTICESHIP PROGRAM

The apprenticeship program for painters and paperhangers lasts for three years. It includes on-the-job training, covering the care and use of tools, such as brushes and spray guns; preparing surfaces, matching and mixing paints, and erecting scaffolding. In the classroom, the apprentice is taught color harmony, paint chemistry, how to estimate costs, and the techniques of mixing and matching paints and papers.

Qualifications

An apprentice must be at least 18 years old. He is subject to the specific provisions as noted in the Labor Bargaining Agreement, Page 1 of the Standards of Apprenticeship. (Page 1 is appended.) Provision 1 applies directly to the applicant—it determines his starting age. Provisions 2 through 7 apply to the employer and the apprentice, setting down wages, hours, number of apprentices hired in proportion to journeymen and the responsibility of the employer. Provision 8 requires that graduate apprentices be given a Certificate of Completion, and Provision 9 prohibits discrimination on the basis of race, creed, or color.

Wages

Apprentices start at half the wage of a skilled worker in the field. This rate is gradually increased so that, at the end of the training program, he is earning the full journeyman's wage.

Approximate Number of Openings

In September, 1962: 158, all in Manhattan.

WHERE TO APPLY

Association of Master Painters and Paperhangers of the City of New York and Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers
District Council #9, AFL-CIO
45 W. 14th St., New York, N. Y.

Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers Joint Apprenticeship Committee of Queens County
188-02 Northern Blvd., Flushing, L. I., N. Y.

Associated Painting Employers of Brooklyn and Joint Executive Committee of Local Unions 1507, 1511 and 645 of the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America
102 Flatbush Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y.

PHOTOENGRAVER

The expected expansion in printing output as well as normal replacement needs will create job openings for photoengravers in the sixties. However, the need may be limited by the introduction of labor-saving devices.

Photoengravers make metal printing plates of illustrations and other copy that cannot be set up in type. Sometimes the entire job of making a photoengraving plate is done by one man but in large shops the work is usually divided among a number of specialists. These may include: cameramen, printers, etchers, finishers, routers, blockers, and provers. Gravure photoengraving is a specialized type of photoengraving. In gravure plates the image is etched below the surface for use in reproducing pictures and type.

The cameraman starts by photographing the material through a crosslined screen, which breaks down the copy into thousands of tiny dots. Plates made from line drawings are called line plates and those from photographs are called half-tone plates. After the cameraman develops the negative, the printer prints the image on a metal plate by coating the plate with a solution sensitive to light and then exposing it and the negative to arc lights. The image areas are protected by chemical means so that when the plate is placed in an acid bath by the etcher, the nonimage material is etched away and the image stands out in relief. The finisher carefully inspects and touches up the plate with hand tools. The router cuts away metal from the nonprinting part of the plate to prevent it from touching the inking rollers during printing. The blocker mounts the engraving on a suitable base to make it reach the right height. The prover prints a sample copy on a proof press.

Photoengravers are among the highest paid printing craftsmen. The union minimum hourly wage ranged from $2.98 to $4.50 on July 1, 1960.

APPRENTICESHIP PROGRAM

Apprenticeship usually takes five to six years and includes at least 800 hours of related classroom instruction. In addition to the care and use of his tools, the apprentice learns to cut and square negatives, make combination plates, inspect negatives for defects, mix chemicals, sensitize metal, and to operate machines used in the photoengraving process.

Qualifications

Applicants for apprenticeship must meet the employment requirements of the company and

1. Applicants for a photoengraving or gravure apprenticeship not heretofore connected with the trade must be at least 18 years of age.
2. Each applicant must furnish evidence of having passed an examination for physical fitness.

Wages

The apprentice usually starts at 40 to 50 per cent of the full journeyman's rate and receives increases every six months until he reaches 80 to 95 per cent of the full rate.

Approximate Number of Openings

In September, 1962: 8.

The union states that due to business conditions, the ratio of apprentices to journeymen does not allow of indenturing apprentices.

WHERE TO APPLY

Photo Engravers' Board of Trade Inc.
Employing Gravure Printers
Publishers Association, N.Y.C. and
New York Photo-Engravers' Union No. 1,
Representing Employees, City of New York
853 Broadway, New York, N. Y.

PLASTERER—CEMENT FINISHER

The plasterer is the building craftsman who applies plaster to interior walls and ceilings to form fire-resistant and somewhat soundproof surfaces which may then be decorated. Applying the plaster is the last operation before painting or paperhanging.

In recent years plasterers have been making increasing use of machinery which sprays plaster on walls and have worked on new building construction. Plasterers also work on buildings that are being modernized, but they do little repair and maintenance work.

APPRENTICESHIP PROGRAM

The recommended apprenticeship program is completed after three or four years of on-the-job training with 144 hours of classroom work. Many workers have acquired skills by working for many years as helpers or laborers. The plasterer-apprentice learns the tools of his trade and becomes familiar with the work of other trades so that he may determine whether work done prior to his is satisfactory.

Qualifications

The applicant must be between the ages of 18 and 21 years. Exceptions may be made in the case of World War II veterans. He must be a high-school graduate or the equivalent and he must be physically able to perform the work.

Wages

The union minimum hourly wage as of July 1, 1960 averaged $4.06. Plasterers, like other construction workers, are subject to lay-offs.

Approximate Number of Openings

In September, 1962: Queens—1.
Brooklyn—10.

WHERE TO APPLY

Plastering Joint Committee and Representative Employers of the Trade and Local Union #408
Operative Plasterers and Cement Finishers International Association
116-02 Jamaica Ave., Richmond Hill, Queens, N. Y., or
Plastering Joint Apprenticeship Committee
Brooklyn, New York and Plasterers Association and Local 30 Operative Plasterers and Cement Finishers International Association
23 Flatbush Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y.

PLUMBER

Job opportunities for plumbers are expected to increase rapidly. More than 8,000 openings a year nationally will come just from retirements and deaths, in addition to many from the expansion of industries such as air-conditioning.

A plumber's work is to install pipe systems for water, steam, gas, sewage, and many specialized uses. In the course of his job, he must bend the pipe to the desired shape, install it and seal it. The joints are usually welded, brazed, soldered or threaded. After installing the pipe, he must test it for leaks. His work requires the use of many different hand tools, as well as power tools for bending and threading pipe, and welding and

brazing equipment. This calls for many different skills.

The plumber is the highest paid of the building-trades workers and one of the best-paid skilled workers in any trade. The average wage in July 1960 was $4.01 an hour, with a high of $4.55 in New York City. In addition, because his work is mostly indoors, the plumber loses less time due to weather than other building tradesmen and so gets a greater yearly wage.

APPRENTICESHIP PROGRAM

The apprenticeship program for plumbers lasts five years. It includes on-the-job training, covering such subjects as proper use and care of tools and materials; welding techniques; the characteristics of different types of pipe; the handling of glass and plastic pipes; testing pipe systems and estimating time and costs of jobs. In addition, there are at least 144 hours each year of classroom instruction on these and related subjects.

Qualifications

The applicant must be between 17 and 21 years of age and an American citizen. He must submit a record of school work and be physically fit for the work of the trade. Preference may be given to veterans qualifying under Public Law 346 or 550.

Wages

Apprentices start at 50 per cent of the rate for the journeyman and get 5 per cent increases every six months until they reach 95 per cent of the skilled worker's wage.

Approximate Number of Openings

In September, 1962: Brooklyn—85.
New York—179.
Staten Island—17.

WHERE TO APPLY

Joint Apprenticeship Committee of the Plumbing Trade, Boroughs of Brooklyn and Queens
6 Lafayette Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y.

New York City Plumbers Joint Apprenticeship Committee
1622 Grand Central Terminal Building, New York, N.Y., and
112 Fourth Ave., New York, N. Y.

Local 371, United Association of Journeymen and Apprentices of the Plumbing and Pipefitting Industry, Borough of Richmond
544 Vanderbilt Ave., Staten Island, N. Y.

PRESSMAN *(Assistant)*

Job opportunities for pressmen, as in other printing trades, are expected to increase moderately during the 1960s. Continued improvements in the speed and efficiency of presses will cut down somewhat on the number of employees needed, but normal replacement needs will result in some openings and an increase in the total amount of printing in others.

The ratio of assistants to pressmen varies from one shop to another, depending on the size of the plant, the type of press used, and other factors. Some shops are too small to have assistants. The duties of press assistants range from feeding sheets of paper into hand-fed presses to helping pressmen make ready and operate large and complicated rotary presses. Workers whose main responsibility is feeding are often called press feeders.

The national average minimum hourly wage for press assistants and feeders was $2.75 as of July 1, 1960.

APPRENTICESHIP PROGRAM

The apprenticeship period is two years for press assistants and four years for pressmen in commercial shops. In newspaper establishments the apprenticeship period is five years; the period for pressmen operating web presses is generally five years. On-the-job training includes the care of pressroom equipment, makeready, running the job, press tending and maintenance, and working with various types of inks and papers. Classroom work in related subjects is involved.

Qualifications

All apprentices are selected by the specific employer.

All pressroom apprentices must be registered in the months designated.

Wages

Apprentices are usually paid a starting rate of 40 to 50 per cent of the regular wage with increases every six months until they reach 80 to 95 per cent of the full rate.

Approximate Number of Openings

In September, 1962: 19.

WHERE TO APPLY

Printers League Section
New York Employing Printers Association Inc.
and
New York Press Assistants' Union No. 23, Inter-

national Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union of North America
212 W. 15th St., New York, N. Y.

PRESSMAN *(Book and Job)*

Employment opportunities for pressmen are expected to increase moderately during the 1960s. The increase in the total amount of printing and the normal need for replacements will compensate for the slowing rate of employment due to technological improvements.

The pressmen's basic duties are to "makeready" and to tend the presses while they are in operation. The object of makeready is to insure printing impressions that are distinct and uniform. This is done by placing pieces of paper of exactly the right thickness underneath low areas of the press plates to make them level and by attaching pieces of tissue paper to the surface of the cylinder or flat platen which makes the impression. Pressmen also make other adjustments, such as those needed to control margins and the flow of ink to the inking roller. In some shops pressmen are responsible for oiling and cleaning the presses and making some minor repairs. Work differs greatly from one shop to another because of the different kinds and sizes of presses used.

The average minimum hourly rate for journeymen pressmen ranges from $3.37 to $3.67 as of July 1, 1960.

APPRENTICESHIP PROGRAM

The apprenticeship period is four years for pressmen in commercial shops, five years in newspaper establishments or for operation of web presses. On-the-job training includes the care of pressroom equipment, makeready, running the job, press tending and maintenance, and working with various types of inks and papers. In addition, apprenticeship includes related classroom work.

Qualifications

Applicants for apprenticeship must be able to meet the following minimum requirements:

1. An aptitude for and interest in the art and craft of printing.
2. Elementary school graduate or its equivalent.
3. At least 20 years of age.
4. Physically and mentally fit for the work of the trade.

Wages

Apprentices are usually paid a starting rate of 40 to 50 per cent of the regular wage with increases every six months until they reach 80 to 95 per cent of the full rate.

Approximate Number of Openings

In September, 1962: 29.

WHERE TO APPLY

Printers League Section, New York Employing Printers Assn. and New York Printing Pressmen's Union, Local 51
100 E. 16th St., New York 3, N.Y.

PRESSMAN *(Newspaper)*

Employment opportunities are expected to increase during the 1960s. The increase in the total amount of printing and the normal need for replacements will compensate for any slowing in the rate of employment due to technological improvements.

The pressmen's basic duties are to "makeready" and to tend the presses while they are in operation. The object of makeready is to insure printing impressions that are distinct and uniform. This is done by placing pieces of paper of exactly the right thickness underneath low areas of the press plates to make them level and by attaching pieces of tissue paper to the surface of the cylinder or flat platen which makes the impressions. Pressmen also make other adjustments, such as those needed to control margins and the flow of ink to the inking roller.

The average minimum hourly rate for journey pressmen ranges from $3.37 to $3.67 as of July 1, 1960.

APPRENTICESHIP PROGRAM

The apprenticeship period for pressmen in newspaper establishments is five years. On-the-job training includes the care of pressroom equipment, makeready, running the job, press tending and maintenance, and working with various types of inks and papers. In addition, apprenticeship includes related classroom work.

Qualifications

Applicants for apprenticeship shall meet the employment requirements of the employer. They must:

1. Be at least 19 years of age.
2. Be of good character and physical health.
3. Have at least a grammar-school education.

4. File with their applications two references from persons other than parents or guardians as to their qualifications.

Wages

Apprentices are usually paid a starting rate of 40 to 50 per cent of the regular wage with increases every six months until they reach 80 to 95 per cent of the full rate.

Approximate Number of Openings

In September, 1962: 20.

WHERE TO APPLY

The Publishers Association of New York City
and
The New York Newspaper Printing Pressman's Union No. 2, I.P.P.A.A.U. of N.A.
5 Beekman St., New York, N.Y.

REFRIGERATION AND AIR-CONDITIONING MECHANIC

The growing use of air-conditioning and refrigeration equipment is providing increasing job opportunities for skilled mechanics who install and repair such equipment. A demand for many thousands of additional workers is expected in the 1960's and openings will also arise to meet normal replacement needs.

In installing new air-conditioning or refrigeration equipment, the mechanic puts the motors, condensers, and humidifiers in proper position, following design specifications. He assembles and connects duct work, refrigerant lines and other piping, and connects the equipment to an electrical power source. He installs electric controls and checks the electric power entering the motors. The mechanic starts the unit and tests it for proper performance and for leaks; he also adjusts the pumps, humidifiers, filters, and other components in order to obtain the most efficient performance. On small installations, he may have to prepare his own working diagrams and do simple layout work such as measuring and cutting pipes. On large jobs he must read and interpret blueprints or drawings.

Mechanics engaged in maintenance work regularly lubricate machinery, replenish liquid refrigerant, adjust valves, and examine other parts of the equipment to detect leaks and other defects before trouble develops. When equipment breaks down, the mechanic must diagnose the trouble and make the necessary repairs.

Wage rates vary considerably, depending upon the size of equipment, the type of work, and the nature of the establishment where it takes place: the range is from $2 to $4 an hour.

APPRENTICESHIP PROGRAM

Apprenticeship usually lasts four to five years and includes both on-the-job training and classroom instruction. Apprentices learn the installation and connecting of refrigeration equipment, gas lines, liquid lines, air-control lines, and other kinds of piping. They are taught to do layout and assembly work and to install and connect electrical circuits and controls. Classroom instruction includes mathematics, electrical controls, blueprint reading, compression refrigeration systems, heat transfer and insulation, and related subjects.

Qualifications

An applicant for apprenticeship must be at least 16 years of age.

Wages

Apprentices usually start at 50 per cent of the journeyman rate and receive increases each year until they reach 75 to 90 per cent of the full wage during the last year of apprenticeship.

Approximate Number of Openings

In September, 1962: 12.

WHERE TO APPLY

International Union of Operating Engineers, Local 295, and
Association of Master Refrigeration and Air Conditioning Contractors Inc.
92-32 Union Hall Street, Jamaica, L. I., and
702 Flushing Avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y.

ROOFER

There will be a few thousand new job opportunities nationally for roofers each year during the sixties. These will result from the large expansion expected in the construction industry together with normal replacement needs.

Roofers apply composition roofing and other materials, such as tile and slate, to the roofs of buildings. They also waterproof and dampproof walls and other building surfaces.

In applying composition roofing, the roofer first places overlapping strips of asphalt and impregnated felt over the entire surface. He then applies a coating of tar, pitch or other bitumi-

nous material. This is repeated until at least three layers of felt are in place. A final surfacing of tar, pitch and gravel protects the roofing materials from the weather. Different application methods are used for roofing with asphalt shingles and the more expensive metal, tile and slate. Roofers also do waterproofing and dampproofing on masonry or concrete walls, swimming pools and other tanks.

Union minimum hourly wage rates for composition roofers averaged $3.61 as of July 1, 1960; for slate and tile roofers, $3.62. For the latter group New York City had the highest rate, $4.60. Considerable time is lost because of weather conditions, however.

APPRENTICESHIP PROGRAM

The three-year apprenticeship program generally includes on-the-job training and related classroom instruction in subjects such as blueprint reading and mathematics applicable to layout work. The apprentice learns to use, care for and handle safely the tools, equipment, and materials used in the trade; to work with composition, tar, and asphalt; to prepare roof surfaces for covering; to apply pitch and other materials; to spread gravel; to do slate, tile, and terra cotta work, dampproofing and waterproofing.

Qualifications

The applicant must be 18 years of age.

Wages

Hourly wage rates for apprentices usually start at 65 per cent of the journeyman rate and increase until 90 per cent is reached in the last six months of training.

Approximate Number of Openings

In September, 1962: 15.

WHERE TO APPLY

Roofing, Waterproofing and Dampproofing Industry in Greater New York and Vicinity
467 Dean St., Brooklyn, N. Y.

SHEETMETAL WORKER

Employment opportunities for sheetmetal workers are expected to increase rapidly in the sixties, but since the trade is small the total number of openings will be only a few thousand nationally.

Sheetmetal workers fabricate and install ducts which are used in ventilating, air-conditioning and heating systems and a variety of other products made from thin metal sheets: roofing and siding, commercial stainless-steel kitchen equipment, partitions, sheetmetal shelves in industrial establishments, store fronts, metal framework for neon signs and chutes used for material movement.

In heating or air-conditioning duct work, the sheetmetal worker lays out and plans the job, determining the size and type of sheetmetal to be used. (The ducts are often fabricated at the sheetmetal shop.) The workers cut the metal with hand snips and power-driven shears, and other cutting tools. They form the metal with bending machines, hammers, and anvils; then weld, bolt, rivet, solder or cement the seams and joints. In the installation of ducts, the component parts are fitted together and assembled. Hangers and bracers are installed to support ducts, and joints may be soldered. Journeymen sometimes specialize in shop work or on-site installation work but they must know all aspects of the trade.

Union minimum hourly rates averaged $3.90 as of July 1, 1960; New York City had the highest rate, $4.65. Annual earnings are less than might be expected because many jobs are of brief duration and worktime is frequently lost to weather conditions.

APPRENTICESHIP PROGRAM

Apprenticeship usually includes four or five years of on-the-job training in addition to related classroom instruction. The apprentice learns to use, care for and handle safely the tools, machines, equipment and materials of the trade; to solder, do air conditioning, heating and ventilating work; he learns also to do residential installations such as roofing gutters and downspouts and architectural and industrial sheetmetal work. He learns processes such as cutting, forming, folding, grooving metal material and bending edges, punching and drilling holes. Classroom instruction includes drafting, blueprint reading and mathematics applicable to layout work.

Qualifications

1. According to Joint Committee on Apprentices: the apprentice shall be at least 17 years of age, and shall be approved by the Joint Committee to work at and learn the sheetmetal trade.

2. According to Local 137: the applicant for apprenticeship shall be between the ages of 18 and 22 years; all applications shall, at all times, be acted upon by the Apprentice Committee and signed by them.

Wages

Hourly wage rates for apprentices generally start at 50 per cent of the journeyman rate and increase periodically until 90 per cent is reached during the final portion of training.

Approximate Number of Openings

In September, 1962: Local 28, 114; Local 137, 10.

WHERE TO APPLY

Sheet Metal Joint Committee on Apprentices
Employers Association of Roofing and Sheetmetal Workers of Greater New York and Vicinity, Local 28
350 Broadway, New York 13, N.Y.
or
Sheet Metal Workers International Association
Local Union 137, New York City and Vicinity
673 Broadway, New York, N.Y.

STEAM FITTER

Job opportunities in this trade are expected to rise rapidly during the sixties as the result of increased construction activities as well as normal replacement needs.

Steamfitters are plumbers and pipefitters who specialize in assembling and installing steam or hot-water systems for commercial and industrial uses. A variety of skills are used in installing pipe systems. The workers bend pipe and make welded, brazed, calked, soldered, or threaded joints. After a pipe system is installed, the plumber or pipefitter tests for leaks by filling the pipes with liquid (or gas) under pressure. The fitters use wrenches, reamers, drills, braces and bits, hammers, chisels, saws and other hand tools. Power machines are often used to cut, bend and thread pipes. Hand-operated hydraulic pipe benders are also used.

Hourly wage rates for pipefitters averaged $4.00 as of July 1, 1960; New York City had the highest rate, at $4.65.

APPRENTICESHIP PROGRAM

The program for plumbers or for pipefitters usually consists of five years of on-the-job training and at least 720 hours of related classroom instruction. In addition to care and use of tools, the pipefitter program includes training in the installation of radiators, pumps, boilers, stokers, oil burners, and gas furnaces; hot water, steam panel, and radiant-heating systems; air-conditioning and power-plant piping systems; and pneumatic control systems and instrumentation. They may also learn boiler replacement. Classroom instruction is in subjects such as drafting and blueprint reading, mathematics applicable to layout work, applied physics and chemistry, and local building codes and regulations which apply to the trade.

Qualifications

No one shall begin his apprenticeship before his 18th birthday or after his 24th birthday except by special dispensation of the Apprenticeship Committee.

Wages

Hourly wage rates of apprentices usually start at 50 per cent of the journeyman rate and increase by 5 per cent in each six-month period until a rate of 95 per cent is reached in the last period of apprenticeship.

Approximate Number of Openings

In September, 1962: 209.

WHERE TO APPLY

Joint Steamfitting Apprenticeship Committee
75 East 45th Street, New York 17, N.Y.

STONE SETTER *(Mason)*

Replacement needs will provide a small number of job opportunities in this craft during the sixties, but the general increase in construction will not greatly affect it since less use of stone masonry work is expected.

The stonemason works from a set of drawings in which each stone has been numbered for identification unless all pieces are identical. A helper, or in some cases a derrickman, locates the pieces needed and brings them to the mason; large stones are set in place with a hoist. The stonemason sets the stone in mortar and moves it into final position with a mallet, hammer, or crowbar. He aligns the stone with a plumb line and finishes the joints between the stones with a pointing trowel. He may fasten the stone to supports with metal ties, anchors, or by welding. Occasionally, the stonemason may have to cut stone to size. They also do some stone veneer work, in which a thin covering of cut stone is applied to the exterior faces of a building.

Union minimum hourly wage rates as of July 1, 1960, for stonemasons averaged $4.04; New York City was highest with $4.96. However, much work time is lost due to weather conditions and the brief duration of jobs.

APPRENTICESHIP PROGRAM

Apprenticeship usually entails three years of on-the-job training in addition to related classroom instruction. The trainee learns to use, care for and handle safely the tools, machines, and materials of the trade, and to lay out and install walls, floors, stairs, and arches. Training is similar to that in bricklaying.

Qualifications

All apprentices are subject to a probationary period. Applications should be made or referred to the Board which informs the secretary of Union Local No. 84 of their acceptance or rejection. An apprentice must be at least 17 years of age and preferably not older than 24.

Wages

Hourly wage rates for apprentices usually start at 50 per cent of the journeyman wage and are increased periodically until the trainee is earning 95 per cent of the full rate.

Approximate Number of Openings

In September, 1962: 20.

WHERE TO APPLY

The Stone Setting Contractors Association
of New York and Journeymen Stone
Setter Masons' Subordinate Union No. 84
of Greater New York and Long Island
2 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y.

UPHOLSTERER *(Custom)*

An upholsterer supplies coverings, cushions, padding and stuffing for chairs, sofas or beds; he also repairs them. Custom refers to hand craftsmanship as opposed to mass or machine production. Custom upholstery may include all steps from designing the furniture and color and pattern choice, for which highly trained artistry is needed.

The basic work in upholstery is this: Webbing is stretched and tacked to the wood frame of the furniture. Springs are sewed to them with cord and tied together firmly. Canvas is stretched over the springs and tacked to the frame. Stuffing is then placed and covered with light canvas. This is hand stitched with care, for it determines the final outline of the furniture; sometimes stuffing is in two layers for greater adaptability. Similar work is done on back, arms, or any additional part of the furniture. The final cover is then put on. Journeymen earn $3.30 per hour.

APPRENTICESHIP PROGRAM

There is a great need for apprentices because many new jobs are available. The apprentice receives four years of on-the-job training and learns all aspects of the manufacture of custom furniture.

Qualifications

Applicants for apprenticeship must meet the employment requirements of the company and be:

1. Between 16 and 21 years of age. Exceptions may be made in the case of veterans of World War II up to 25 years of age.
2. High school graduates or have equivalent education.
3. Physically able to perform the work of the trade.

Wages

Upholster apprentices earn $1.40 per hour, with a raise every 6 months according to ability.

Approximate Number of Openings

In September, 1962: 7.

WHERE TO APPLY

Mr. Thomas Guiliano
The Upholstery Employers Association and
Local No. 44, Upholsterers International Union
of N. A. of New York City and Vicinity
19 West 44th Street, New York, N.Y.

WIRE, WOOD AND METAL WORKER

Some increase in employment for lathers is expected in the 1960s as part of the general expansion in the construction industry. A growing need for specialized lathing work as in sound insulation and fireproofing will offset the loss of work due to increasing use of dry walls in residential building.

Lathers install the supporting backings on ceilings or walls on which plaster or other materials are applied. These supports are usually either metal laths or large pieces of perforated gypsum board.

The lathers first build a light metal framework (furring) which is fastened securely to the structural framework of the building. The laths are then attached to the furring by nailing, clipping, tying, or machine stapling. After the laths have been installed, the lathers cut openings in them for electrical outlets and heating and ventilating pipes. The method varies somewhat in other types of lath work, for instance, plaster cornices

and stucco work. Some lathers are employed outside the construction industry; they make the lath backing for plaster display materials or scenery.

Union minimum hourly wage rates for lathers averaged $4 as of July 1, 1960; New York City had the highest rates, at $4.65.

APPRENTICESHIP PROGRAM

During the apprenticeship period of two to three years, the apprentice learns to handle the tools and materials of the trade. He installs gypsum and composition board, wall furring, and metal lathing. In addition, he usually receives instruction in subjects such as applied mathematics, geometry, reading of blueprints and sketches, welding, estimating, and safety practices.

Qualifications

Applicants, before being accepted for training, must meet the following requirements:

1. They must be citizens or have filed declaration of intent to become citizens.
2. They must be at least 16 years of age and not more than 25 except where an applicant has served in the armed forces. The service period may be deducted in figuring eligibility provided the time spent in the armed services does not exceed one enlistment period.
3. They must be mentally and physically capable of performing the work of the trade.
4. They must show satisfactory character and a desire to work in the trade.
5. No applicant for apprenticeship under this program will be discriminated against because of race, color, or national origin.

Wages

Hourly wage rates for lather apprentices usually start at 50 per cent of the journeyman rate. The rate is increased by 5 per cent every third or fourth month until a rate of 85 per cent is reached in the final quarter of the second year of training.

Approximate Number of Openings

In September, 1962: 110.

WHERE TO APPLY

Employing Furring and Lathing Contractors of New York City

Local Union No. 46 of the Wood, Wire and Metal Lathers' International Union, N. Y.
1322 Third Avenue, New York, N.Y.

APPENDIX –

Page 1 of the Standards of Apprenticeship, Labor Bargaining Agreement, New York State Dept. of Labor

State of New York
Department of Labor
Bureau of Apprentice Training
State Office Building
Albany, N.Y.

MASTER APPRENTICE TRAINING PROGRAM (GROUP)

Trade:.....

Term of Apprenticeship:.....

1. The starting age of an apprentice is to be:.....
2. Attached is APPENDIX "A", the schedule of work processes in which an apprentice is to be given training and experience on the job as well as the outline of organized instruction designed to provide the apprentice with a knowledge in technical subjects related to his trade.
3. Schedule of wages: Minimum journeyman rate as of:..... is:..... per hour

   Schedule for each 1,000 hours or 6 month period

   First Second Third Fourth Fifth Sixth Seventh Eighth Ninth Tenth Eleventh Twelfth

   and.....hours shall constitute a work week.
4. The ratio of apprentices to journeymen is:
5. Competent supervision of on-the-job instruction with adequate facilities to train apprentices will be maintained.
6. Periodic evaluation of the apprentice's progress, both in job performance and related instruction, and the maintenance of appropriate records will be kept by the employer.
7. Employee-employer cooperation is maintained through the formation of a joint apprenticeship committee equally represented by management and labor, where applicable.
8. Recognition for successful completion of apprenticeship will be given to graduate apprentices by a Certificate of Completion.
9. Apprentices shall be hired without any direct or indirect limitation, specification or discrimination as to race, creed, color or national origin.
10. Other provisions:

EMPLOYER OR JOINT APPRENTICESHIP COMMITTEE

name:.....

address:.....

APPROVED FOR EMPLOYER:

by:.....

title:.....date:.....

APPROVED FOR THE UNION:

by:.....

title:.....date:.....

Registered with the New York State Bureau of Apprentice Training

....

Administrator of Apprentice Training Date

TO THE READER:

Our purpose in printing this handbook is to help young people secure training for skilled trades in existing apprenticeship programs.

We can do this only if we know what happens to those who apply. We want to know where you applied and what happened when you went there.
To help us do this, will you

(1) Please fill in the blank below and send it to the Workers Defense League.

(2) If you prefer, give the filled-in form to the person who gave you the Handbook. He will send it to us.

(3) Or simply telephone WDL, AL 4-4953.

APPRENTICESHIP TRAINING PROGRAM
WORKERS DEFENSE LEAGUE
112 East 19th Street
New York 3, N. Y.

NAME _____ AGE _____

ADDRESS _____ TELEPHONE _____

I applied to become a _____ apprentice.

I spoke to _____

I was hired _____ I start training _____

I was not hired _____ If not, were you told why?

SPONSORS

REV. C. ASAPANSA-JOHNSON	President, Interdenominational Ministry of Greater New York
LUCILLE BULGER	President, Community League of West 159th Street
REV. EUGENE CALLENDER	Chairman, Harlem Neighborhoods Association (HANA)
H. DANIEL CARPENTER	Executive Director, Hudson Guild
REV. RAFAEL COTTO	Pastor, Good Neighbor Presbyterian Church
JAMES FARMER	National Director, Congress of Racial Equality
MONSERRATE FLORES	President, Organizaciones Unidas del Bronx
REV. GEORGE B. FORD	Pastor (retired), Corpus Christi Roman Catholic Church
REV. MILTON GALAMISON	Pastor, Siloam Presbyterian Church
REV. JOHN H. GILL	Vicar, Church of St. Edward the Martyr (Episcopal)
MAXIMINO GONZALES, ESQ.	President, Puerto Rican & Spanish American Organizations of Greater New York
DR. ANNA ARNOLD HEDGEMAN	Committee for a $1.50 Minimum Wage
REV. RICHARD A. HILDEBRAND	President, New York Chapter, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
REV. WALTER JANER	Chairman, Nativity Mission Center
REV. THOMAS KILGORE	Pastor, Friendship Baptist Church
DR. EDWARD S. LEWIS	Executive Director, Urban League of Greater New York
ERNESTO MARTINEZ	President, Consejo de Organizaciones Puertorriquenas de Bajo Manhattan
REV. C. KILMER MYERS	Vicar, Chapel of the Intercession of Trinity Parish
CLARENCE SENIOR	Member, Board of Education
REV. C. S. STAMPS	President, Baptist Ministers Conference Greater New York and Vicinity, Inc.
REV. V. SIMPSON TURNER	President, Brooklyn-Long Island Interdenominational Ministers Alliance
CELIA VICE	President, Consejo de Organizaciones de Brooklyn
REV. JOSHUA WILLIAMS	Pastor, Salem Methodist Church

(Organizations listed for identification only)

THE VIRGINIA EQUAL JOB OPPORTUNITY CONSULTING PROJECT

SUMMARY OF PROPOSAL

It is proposed to establish in Virginia, under professional direction, a non-profit consulting service for employers who are prepared to adopt or to implement a personnel policy based on equal opportunity without regard to race or color. It is expected that this project would become self-sustaining within a short time, but contributed funds are being sought to launch it. A responsible established organization, the Virginia Council on Human Relations (contributions to which are tax exempt) is prepared to sponsor this project and to provide general supervision with the assistance of an advisory committee of businessmen and others. Preliminary talks with a few key Virginia businessmen give reason to believe that the time is right for such a development.

THE NEED

Due in considerable part to the pressures being brought to bear by the Federal Government in requiring its contractors to adhere to a policy of non-discrimination, a large and steadily increasing number of employers are having to examine and revise nearly all aspects of their recruitment, training and promotion policies. There are in Virginia at least 175 prime contractors to the U.S. Government with establishments in 215 or more locations, each of these having a minimum of 50 employees and $50,000 in Government contracts. Some of these are the local installations of national firms which have adopted an overall policy of non-discrimination. In addition there are some firms taking similar steps as a result of local community initiative (especially in retail and service establishments and public utilities) and some as a result of the socially advanced position taken by their owners or executives. The proposed consulting service is being designed with the needs of all these categories in mind. It is expected that it would also prove useful to some other institutions and organizations, as noted later.

The President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity (of which Vice-President Lyndon Johnson is Chairman, and John Feild is Executive Director) has central responsibility for implementing Federal policy, though it works as far as possible through the contracting agencies of the Government. It can and does insist that an employer not only stop discriminatory practices but that he also take some positive steps to demonstrate his newly-adopted policy. The employer, however, may well ask in good faith questions which a Government agency is not equipped to answer, or may request assistance beyond what is appropriate for the Federal Government to give. "How can I find out what other employers have done and how they have brought about the changes you are asking me to make?" "Where can I get help with problems within my plant or in the local community which come up as a result of this new policy?" "Where can I turn to locate qualified Negro applicants for jobs which open up?" The employer is accustomed to turning to a professional or trade association or to a management service in connection with similar problems, and he is accustomed to paying for the assistance he receives. Following this pattern familiar to business firms, the proposed project would offer <u>three basic services</u>.

PROPOSED SERVICES

1. CONFERENCES. It would arrange an annual state-wide conference at which employers within Virginia could discuss problems and new developments confidentially and off-the-record. The gathering would compare in appeal to conferences such as those arranged by the American Management Association, running for 2 or 3 days at a suitable center such as Colonial Williamsburg. A group of men and women with practical and professional experience in the field of inter-group relations, especially in employment matters, would be available for consultation. A large firm might send several officers concerned with personnel and industrial relations; the head of a smaller business might attend himself. Some employers from other states would be invited because of their success in handling certain kinds of problems under conditions relevant to Virginia. Representatives of Federal and state agencies, colleges, labor unions, and other organizations might be invited as appropriate. Registration fees would be charged sufficient to cover all conference costs including the preliminary work of arranging the program. The state-wide conference might be supplemented by regional meetings within the state, or by conferences arranged for employers in certain industries or with certain common problems.

2. CONSULTING SERVICES. A business would be able to call upon the director of the project, a professionally qualified person, to spend one or more days at a time in the plant or in the local community as a consultant. The project organization would be adequately compensated for his time and reimbursed for his expenses. His work on such an assignment might include: reviewing personnel policies with top officials from the standpoint of their racial implications; training employment interviewers on conducting interviews so as to give no cause for complaint; leading a discussion with shop foremen or office supervisors on what happens when a Negro occupies a skilled or supervisory position for the first time; sitting down with community leaders - mayor, chamber of commerce president, banker, etc. - for a frank discussion of all the questions anyone wants to bring up. Although it may be possible as need arises to bring in additional qualified persons as consultants, it is obvious that the success of the program will depend in large part on the caliber of the person engaged as director. The right people are in demand and are already employed. It would not be desirable to bring the names of specific candidates into the discussion until the project is able to consider making a definite offer.

3. RECRUITING OF NEGROES. The third and perhaps in the long run the most valuable service involved in this project would be to have a staff person engaged in identifying Negro candidates at schools, colleges, and other locations and referring them to potential employers. In so doing he would be representing a cooperating group of such employers who would be sharing the cost of his salary and travel. Good faith compliance with a non-discrimination order is normally held to require some positive action toward the Negro job-seeking community, but it would clearly be impractical for each one of hundreds of companies to employ a qualified recruiter to beat the same bushes for the same prospects, who for many occupations are quite limited in number. Moreover if the flow of Negroes into new kinds of jobs is to be increased, there is a real need for educational, training and placement institutions which serve Negroes to have a better idea of what skills are in potential demand. Channelling a significant part of this information through

one man or agency on a state-wide basis (of course working in cooperation with the Richmond Urban League, the State Employment Service, and other agencies) could bring about better utilization of the trained people now available, and could also be the means of stimulating the oncoming generation to demand, and the institutions to offer, training in new fields. Fees for supporting this service would be based on the size of the cooperating company, and possibly on other factors as well. This activity should be self-supporting, and in fact would not be launched until the subscriptions came fairly close to equalling the budgeted costs. The person in charge of this work would in all probability be a Negro with experience in vocational guidance or psychology.

These same services, or extensions of them, are likely to prove useful to additional groups: labor unions, with an interest in the education of their own members and officials; Federal and state agencies, needing assistance with respect to their own civil service employment situations; educational institutions, looking for help in placing their graduates and improving their offerings; out-of-state companies which may want frank advice on the problems to be anticipated in opening a Virginia location; companies in near-by states with similar problems. As long as the primary objective of service to Virginia business is not lost sight of, any of these other groups could be served as well.

EVALUATION AND POTENTIAL EXPANSION

Professional assistance would be sought in keeping the workings of the project under continuing observation and evaluation. If the project is successful in Virginia, the experience would be shared with other states and it would very likely become a prototype for the whole Southern region. If it encounters unexpected difficulties, the history of the project would still be studied in order to make the experience as broadly useful as possible.

SPONSORSHIP

The experience of the Virginia Council on Human Relations gives support to the idea that Virginia is the logical Southern state to initiate this experiement. Founded in 1955, the VCHR is dedicated to applying the methods of fact-finding, education, and persuasion to the elimination of discrimination and the enhancement of opportunity for all people. It is one of eleven such councils in the South associated historically and through common purpose with the Southern Regional Council. Because of the more favorable social climate, the council in Virginia has been able to develop the largest and most active local membership, the largest number of affiliated local councils and the greatest amount of financial support of all the southern councils. Its Board of Directors includes distinguished clergymen, businessmen, educators, and civic leaders. The present project was initially proposed by a businessman who operates his own firm with a completely integrated staff and who serves as Finance Chairman for the VCHR.

Several prominent industrial leaders have been interviewed to determine their reaction to this project, with very favorable results. Among those who have authorized the use of their names for private circulation in this connection are Mr. Stuart Saunders, Roanoke, President of the Norfolk & Western Railway and Dr. Arthur W. Sloan, Alexandria, Executive Vice President of Atlantic Research, Inc.

Based on preliminary contacts it appears likely that there will be financial support for the organization, utilization of the services, and willingness of a representative group to serve on an advisory committee which would keep in close touch with the staff. The Board of Directors of the VCHR would have legal responsibility for the operation. The Executive Director of the VCHR, a full-time employee, would supervise the Director of the project.

In the development of this project the VCHR has had the advice of a number of experienced and key individuals including:

Harold Fleming, Executive Vice President, the Potomac Institute
Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director, Southern Regional Council
Frederick Routh, Executive Vice President, National Association of Inter-group Officials

John Feild, Executive Director, President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity with reference to the latter's participation, it should be stressed that what is proposed is a private operation not connected with the Federal or state government, and there has been no official approval by any government agency. On the other hand, this makes a logical and necessary private supplement to government activity and we have every reason to believe that there would be the best possible cooperation between the public and private efforts in this field.

BUDGET

The first year, an outside contribution of $15,000 should make it possible to get started, with subscriptions and consultant fees making up the difference. The first step would be the preparation for the initial conference and informal discussions with a wide selection of business leaders all over the state, other phases coming into operation as needed and as support developed. Payments for services rendered would be expected to increase the second and third years and make the operation entirely self-supporting the fourth year. On this basis a total of $30,000 is being sought to start the project.

First year	$15,000
Second year	10,000
Third year	5,000
	$30,000

Virginia Council on Human Relations
17 East Cary Street
Richmond 19, Virginia
Heslip M. Lee, Executive Director

approved unanimously
Executive Committee
Virginia Council on Human Relations
September 15, 1962

Stewart Nelson

INTRODUCTION

This is the first in a series of Selective Buying Guide Issues by the Washington Congress of Racial Equality. The Guides are designed to acquaint the public with the employment practices of private business firms in the Washington Metropolitan Area, and names those firms which practice discrimination against job seekers because of race, creed, color and national origin. Firms are also listed which have instituted fair hiring practices, and which have taken the first steps in the direction of ridding the Nation's Capital of the shameful and uneconomic blight of denial of employment opportunities to its Negro citizens.

This Guide is not inclusive. It apparently does not list all of the firms which discriminate or all of these which hire without regard to race, creed, color or national origin. The categories of firms selected were chosen to show the patterns of discrimination and how racism is practiced in many different classifications of of businesses throughout the community.

The information in the Guide is based on cursory observations of Washington private business establishments by CORE teams of surveyors, on questions asked of the employees of some of the firms listed, and on conferences between CORE and those business establishments which have adopted merit hiring practices.

Elizabeth Nelson

INTRODUCTION

Hiring by race firms is a matter of increasing degree, some issues by the Washington Congress of Racial Equality. The Guide was designed to acquaint the public with the economic practices of private business firms in the Washington Metropolitan Area, and assess these firms which practice discrimination against job seekers because of race, creed, color and national origin. Firms are also listed which have instituted fair hiring practices, and which have taken the first steps in the direction of ridding the Nation's Capital of the shameful and uneconomic blight of denial of employment opportunities to the Negro citizens.

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The information in the Guide is based on current observations of Washington citizens involved in CORE types of enterprises, on questions asked of the employees of some of the firms listed, and on conversations having with the business activities which have adopted merit hiring practices.

Realizing the incompleteness of cursory observations, CORE polled each of the firms listed by mail, giving them a chance to confirm or deny the findings related in the form letter in the back of this Guide. Some establishments answered; others did not.

The answers were evaluated by CORE Committees and where it was apparent that a firm employed Negroes in the job categories spelled out in the form letter, such firm was so listed. Where there was apparent evasion of the answer or not answer CORE listed the firm among those that do not hire Negroes as sales or office personnel.

Some of the firms listed on the favorable side of the ledger are guilty of token hiring practices. These establishments employ one or two Negroes in sales or office positions and are apparently are making no attempt to really adopt extensive merit hiring practices. CORE intends, however, in the next Buying Guide Issue to report the progress of these firms with definite recommendations to the buying public.

The economic plight of the non-white population of the District of Columbia is due primarily to the denial of job opportunities to Negores by private employers. CORE believes that the community should be alerted to these practices, and that were a firm refuses to hire Negro personnel, it should not be patronized and supported by any citizen who is interested in establishing a healthy economic community.

Realizing the incompleteness of survey observations, CORE polled each of the firms listed by mail, giving them a chance to confirm or deny the findings related in the form letter in the back of this Bulletin. Some straightforward answers did ensue.

The answers were tabulated in four categories and where it was apparent that a firm employed Negroes in the job categories spelled out in the form letter, such firm was so listed. Where there had been some doubt of the answer, or any answer was given the firm among those that do not hire Negroes as sales or office personnel.

Some of the firms listed on the favorable side of the ledger are guilty of token hiring practices. These establishments employ one or two Negroes in sales or office positions and are apparently not making an attempt to really place personnel with hiring potential. CORE intends, however, in the near future, to issue an survey the progress of these firms with respects to accommodations to the buying public.

The economic plight of the non-white population of the District of Columbia is due primarily to the denial of job opportunities to Negroes by private employers. CORE believes that the community should be alerted to these practices, and that more a firm refuses to hire Negro personnel, it should not be patronized and supported by any citizen who is interested in establishing a healthy economic community.

We hope that this Guide and those to come will enable the buying public to follow the economic maxim which states that "in the market money goes where it is treated best."

The denial of employment opportunities is reflected in the health and well being of those so denied. The children of oppressed people are denied future opportunities to good, health, education, and happiness and in the long run the result is genocide practiced against that part of the community that is refused the right to earn a fair living. When the community supports such practices it is equally as guilty of indifference toward the under privledged. CORE thus calls upon civic, social, religious, labor, and other groups to join in the effort to rid the Washington community and greater still, the United States of the shameful practice of job discrimination and the deliberate denial of the right of our fellow citizens to life liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

Julius W. Hobson, President

Richard L. Anderson, Vice President

Warren W. Morse, Chairman
Committee on Employment

Reginal Webb, Chairman
Committee on Community Coordination

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Julius W. Robinson, President

Richard L. Anderson, Vice President

Peter V. Duke, Chairman
Committee on Employment

Reginal Webb, Chairman
Committee on Community Coordination

FAMILY INCOME IN D. C. BY RACE

The harts in part one on this Guide give a glaring picture of the income position of Washington families by race, and show the shameful differences in the income levels of Negro and white families of the city.

Chart 1 shows the trend in median family income by race, in (the income point at which half the families fall below and half above) Washington, D. C. for the year 1950, 1956 and 1958. In 1950 Negro families in the city had a median family income which amounted to 64 percent as much as that of white families. By 1956 the income picture for Negro families had deterioriated, amounting to only 59 percent of the total for white families, and by 1958 Negro family income was still below what it was in 1950. Thus, in the decade of the fifties the economic position of the Negro declined. This is indeed a glaring situation when considered in the light of a decliningwhite and an increasing Negro population in the District of Columbia.

The absolute figures in chart 2 reveal a more startling situation. The chart shows that less than 8,000 white families, but more than 21,000 non-white (Negro) families each under $3,000 in 1958. With the exception of the $4,000 to $4,999 income category (white and non-white families were about evenly distributed in this income category) non-white families were far below the white in the

FAMILY INCOME IN D. C. BY RACE

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The absolute figures in chart 2 reveal a more startling situation. The chart shows that long time white families, who were over 71,000 non-white (Negro) families were under 10,000 in 1958. With the exception of the $4,000 to $4,999 income category (white and non-white families were about equally distributed in this income category) non-white families were far below the white in the

remaining higher income categories. The chart shows that the vast majority of the non-white families in the District of Columbia (about 68,000) earned under $5,000 in 1958, while more than 75% of the white families (about 71,000) each earned above $5,000 during the same year. The upper end of the income scale ($10,000per year and over) contained less than 6,000 non-white families against about 28,000 white families.

CORE believes that the glaring income situtation of 1958, is if anything worse in 1961, with the rate of unemployment among Negroes in the Nation's Capital more than twice that among whites, and with the widespread practice of racial discrimination by a majority of the city's private and public establishments.

CORE submits that this is an income situation which does not have to prevail, and it is within the economic power of the Negro Community to call a halt to this kind of apparent economic injustice. This picture can be changed through selective buying campaigns, and boycotts of those establishments which insist upon practicing job discrimination against over half the population of the District of Columbia.

receiving higher income categories. The score also a list the week majority of the non-white families in the District of Columbia (about 40,000) earned under $3,000 in 1960, while more than 75% of the white families (about 71,000) had earned above $7,000 during the same year. The upper end of the income scale [illegible] year had over] provided less than 6,000 non-white families against about 28,000 white families.

[illegible] Believes that the housing income allocations of 1962, is if anything worse in 1963, with the rate of unemployment among Negroes in the District's capital more than twice that among whites, and with the widespread practice of racial discrimination by a majority of the city's private and public establishments.

[illegible] believes that this is an income situation which does not have to prevail, and it is within the economic power of the Negro Community to call a halt to this kind of apparent economic injustice. This pattern can be changed through positive budget [illegible], and boycotts of those establishments which fail to give proportion jobs discrimination against over half the population of the District of Columbia.

Automobile Agencies and Dealers -- New and Used Cars

CORE teams spent a period of two weeks during the months of September and October, 1961 making cursory observations of automobile agencies and dealers in the Washington area, asking questions of some of their employees, and attempting to determine if these dealers and agencies employ Negro salesmen and office personnel. The dealers observed were also sent form letters relating CORE's findings and asking that these findings be confirmed or denied. Thus, information on the listed companies is based on the observations of CORE teams and on some replies to the form letter (See appendix). As of October 16, 1961 the employment practices of the listed companies were as follows:

Automobile Agencies and Dealers employing Negro salesmen and office personnel.	Automobile Agencies and Dealers NOT employing Negro salesmen and office personnel.
Buick Dealers	
Ralph Brown Buick Sales, Inc. 624 H Street N. E. Washington, D. C.	No other Buick Dealer in the Washington Area employs Negro salesmen and office personnel
Chevrolet Dealers	
Eaton Chevrolet, Inc. 610 H Street N. E. Washington, D. C.	Addison Chevrolet 14th and Florida Avenue N. W. Washington, D. C.
	Barry-Pate Chevrolet 1130 Connecticut Avenue, N . W. Washington, D. C.
	Hicks Chevrolet Inc. 5929 Georgia Avenue, N. W. Washington, D. C.

Accounts Receivable and Sales -- The Job that Does

This issue spent a period of two weeks during the months of September and October, 1941 making careful observation of accounts receivable and sales in the Washington area, making questions of from 4 daily employees, and attempting to determine if these systems are strictly supply salesmen and office personnel. The issues observed were also used into letters relating 1941's footings and saying that these footings be qualified or denied. Every indication is the office computer is based on the observations of 2000 users and on some replies to the form letter from Washington. As it appears 1a, 1941 the management functions of the Travel Department are as follows:

Accounts Receivable Department and Sales Department Their activities are subject personnel.	Accounts Receivable Department and Sales Department Not employing there salesmen and office personnel.

Sales Department

Ralph Brown Book Sales, Inc. 1234 H Street N. W. Washington, D. C.	To value their sales series in the Washington area employs Negro salesmen and office personnel

Service Stations

Texas Company, Inc. 1110 F Street N. W. Washington, D. C.	Sales Department Sales and Florida Avenue N. W. Washington, D. C.
	Surety-Lake Service 1120 Connecticut Avenue, N. W. Washington, D. C.
	Shell Service Inc. 1724 Eleventh Avenue, N. W. Washington, D. C.

Cry sler, Dodge and Phymouth Dealers

Automobile Agencies and Dealers employing Negro salesmen and office personnel.	Automobile Agencies and Dealers NOT employing Negro salesmen and office personnel.
Al's Motors Incorporation 3910 Wilson Blvd. Arlington, Virginia	Torrey Motor Co. 1137-19th Street N. W. Washington, D. C.
Francis & Parsons Inc. 2100 Nicholas Avenue S. E. Washington, D. C.	Royal Motors Inc. 4100 Georgia Avenue N. W. Washington, D. C.
Kaplan-& Crawford 4301 Connecticut Avenue N. W.and 2419 - 18th Street N. W. Washington, D. C.	
L. P. Steurart Inc. 1440 P Street N. W. Washington, D. C.	
Senate Motors, Inc. 629 H Street N. E. Washington, D. C.	

Oldsmobile and Pontiac Dealers

Jack Blank Pontiac 1437 Irving Street N. W . Washington, D. C.	Flood Pontiac Co. 4221 Connecticut Avenue N. W. Washington, D. C.
	Colonial Oldsmobile Co. 1241 Sixth Street N. E. Washington, D. C.
	Capital Parisian Motors 22nd and N Streets, N. W. Washington, D. C.
	Star Pontiac Co., Inc. 407 Florida Avenue N. E. Washington, D. C.
	Pohanka Oldsmobile-Fiat 1126 - 20th Street N. W. Washington, D. C.

Gay silver, Badge and Ornament Makers

Masonville Operation and Design specializing fraternal emblems and uniform personnel.	Masonville operation and design not specifying fraternal emblems and uniform personnel.

Alf's Manors Incorporation 7913 Wilson Blvd. Arlington, Virginia	Jerry Ryan Co. 1727-18th Street N. W. Washington, D. C.
Frazier & Fletcher Inc. 1200 Wisconsin Avenue N. W. Washington, D. C.	Royal Manors Inc. 1132 Massachusetts Avenue N. W. Washington, D. C.
Schlaes-Schwartz 1321 Connecticut Avenue N. W. and 1440 - 19th Street N. W. Washington, D. C.	
L. G. Fawcett Inc. 1340 F Street N. W. Washington, D. C.	
Lemon Novelty, Inc. 629 H Street N. E. Washington, D. C.	

Chemicals and Marine Paints

Jack Black Products 1427 Irving Street N. W. Washington, D. C.	Food Formula Co. 4321 Connecticut Avenue N. W. Washington, D. C.
	Colonial Chemicals Co. 1341 14th Street N. W. Washington, D. C.
	Capital Products Corp. 1314 and 2 Streets, N. W. Washington, D. C.
	Star Products Co., Inc. 421 Florida Avenue N. W. Washington, D. C.
	Florida Chemicals-Plus 1139 - 17th Street N. W. Washington, D. C.

Automobile Agencies and Dealers employing Negro salesmen and office personnel.	Automobile Agencies and Dealers NOT employing Negro salesmen and office personnel.
	Chevrolet (cont.)
	Ourisman-Mandell Chevrolet Inc. 1800 Nichols Avenue S. E. Washington, D. C.
	Stohlman Chevrolet Inc. 33rd and M Streets N. W. Washington, D. C.
	Cadillac Dealers
None	Capitol-Cadillac-Oldsmobile Co. 1222 - 22nd Street N. W. Washington, D. C.
	Ford Dealers
Northeast Motors Company 920 Bladensburg Road N. E. Washington, D. C.	Cherner Motor Co. 1718 Florida Avenue N. W. Washington, D. C.
	Haleys Incorporated M at First Street S. E. Washington, D. C.
	Handley Motor Company 6323 Georgia Avenue, N. W. Washington, D. C.
	Logan Motor Company 1150 - 20th Street N. W. Washington, D. C.
	Parkway Motor Company 3040 M Street N. W. Washington, D. C.

Automobile Repairs and Delivery supplying Repair Parts and office personnel.	Automobile Repairs and Delivery NOT supplying Repair Parts and office personnel.

Servicing (cont.)

Baltimore-Cadillac Servicing Inc.
1800 Biddle Street S. E.
Baltimore, Md.

Motor Service Inc.
32nd and P Streets N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Cadillac Dealers

Cole	Capital-Cadillac-Oldsmobile Co. 1222 - 22nd Street N. W. Washington, D. C.

Ford Dealers

Capital Ford Sales Company 720 Bladensburg Road N. E. Washington, D. C.	Chevrolet Sales Co. 1712 Florida Avenue N. W. Washington, D. C.

Dodge Incorporated
8 at Fifth Street N. E.
Washington, D. C.

Hawley Motor Company
6200 Georgia Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Lake Motor Company
1102 - 20th Street N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Parkway Motor Company
3000 M Street N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Automobile Agencies and Dealers employing Negro salesman and office personnel.	Automobile Agencies and Dealers NOT employing Negro salesmen and office personnel.
Ford Dealers, cont.	
	Steuart Motor Company 6th and New York Avenue N. W. Washington, D. C.
	Triangle Motors 3010 Rhode Island Avenue, N. E. Washington, D. C.
Lincoln and Mercury Dealers	
None	Lee D. Butler, Inc. 1121 - 21st Street N. W. Washington, D. C.
	Moore-Grear Motors Inc. 4400 Connecticut Avenue N. W. Washington, D. C.
Rambler and Studebaker Dealers	
McNey Motors Inc. 1513 Rhode Island Avenue N. E. Washington, D. C.	William and Baker Inc. 2819 M Street N. W. Washington, D. C.
Used Car Dealers	
Uptown Motors 6th & Q Streets N. W. Washington, D. C.	No other surveyed.
Auto Market 508 K Street N. W. Washington, D. C.	
Hankins-Bill Motors 4425 Benning Road N. E. Washington, D. C.	

Commercial Igniters and Heaters Igniters (Gas, electric and [illegible] pressure).	Commercial Igniters and Heaters Not employing fuses, electric and [illegible] pressure.

Fuel Heaters, Pots.

Elmore Iron Company
[illegible] and Ohio Trust Building [illegible],
Washington, D. C.

Pittsburgh Plate
[illegible] Trade Island Avenue, N. E.
Washington, D. C.

Electric and Battery Heaters

Gas.	Gas. Heater, Inc. [illegible] - [illegible] Avenue N. W. Washington, D. C.
	Gas-Fired Water Inc. [illegible] Connecticut Avenue N. W. Washington, D. C.

Boiler and Furnace Heaters

Oil.	Kelly Motors Inc. [illegible] Trade Island Avenue N. E. Washington, D. C.
	Milliken Burn Inc. [illegible] Street N. W. Washington, D. C.

Fuel for Heaters.

Gasoline. [illegible] Avenue N. W. Washington, D. C.	Gasoline Storage.
Gas. Heater [illegible] Street N. W. Washington, D. C.	
Kerosene-Oil Heaters [illegible] Island N. E. Washington, D. C.	

Department Stores

The only department store which the CORE teams surveyed was Ida's Department Store located at 5601 Georgia Avenue N. W. It was found that Ida's Department Store does not have Negroes employed as sales or office personnel. The store was sent a copy of the form letter during the week of October 9, 1961. As of October 16, 1961 Ida's had not replied to the letter.

The only Department Store in the District of Columbia that has instituted a practice of placing qualified Negro personnel at all levels at which jobs are open is the Hecht Company. The program of this Compnay is indeed an example to be followed by other private business concerns in the Nation's Capital.

The public should be aware of this and reward such action by patronizing those firms which do not discriminate on the basis of race, creed, or color.

Chain Drug Stores

The chain drug stores were observed during the week of August 21, 1961. Most of the CORE team confined their observations to the downtown Washington Area. These stores were contacted by form letter during the week of October 9, 1961 (See appendix). The following listing is based on CORE team observations and replies from some of the drug stores.

Department Stores

The only department store which the CRAC issue investigated was Ida's Department Store located at 3401 Memphis Avenue N. W. It was found that Ida's Department Store does not have Negroes employed as sales or office personnel. The store was sent a copy of the above letter during the week of October 9, 1961. As of October 16, 1961 Ida's had not replied to the letter.

The only Department Store in the District of Columbia that has instituted a practice of placing qualified Negro personnel at all levels of white jobs has been in the Lodge Category. The problem of this category is linked to example to be followed by other private business concerns in the District's Capital.

The public should be aware of this and reward such action by patronizing those firms which do not discriminate on the basis of race, creed, or color.

Chain Drug Stores

The chain drug stores were observed during the week of August 21, 1961. None of the CRAC team conducted fair observations in the drugstore lunchroom item. Three stores were contacted by phone later during the week of October 9, 1961 (See appendix). The following listing is found on CRAC team observations and results from some of the drug stores.

Drug Stores Employing Negro sales and office personnel.	Drug Stores NOT employing Negro sales and office personnel.
Peoples Drug Stores 14th & U Streets, N. W. and other locations Washington, D. C.	Dart Drug Stores 1111 G Street N. W. and other locations Washington, D. C.
Rexall Drug Co. 7th & E Street N. W. and other locations Washington, D. C.	
Standard Drug Stores 914 F Street N. W. and other locations Washington, D. C.	

Other drug chains were surveyed but the findings were not conclusive enough to report. We suggest that the buying public make its own observations and take its patronage to those stores in which fair employment practices are in evidence.

Laundry Establishments

All of the laundry companies observed by CORE teams proved to have Negro employees at many levels. Negroes were found to occupy jobs as office clerks, typists, delivery men, and service personnel dealing with the public in the various location of the laundry businesses throughout the District of Columbia.

The firms observed were:

Bergmann's
623 G Street N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Arcade Sunshine
735 Lamont Street N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Elite Laundry and Dry Cleaning Co.
2119 - 14th Street N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Some stores [illegible] Negro employment and utilize personnel.

Some Negroes NYA analytics Negro stores and utilize personnel.

People Drug Stores
[illegible] & U Streets N. W.
and other locations
[illegible], D. C.

Hart Drug Stores
[illegible] & Street S. E.
and other locations
[illegible], D. C.

Small Drug Co.
7th & Z Streets N. W.
and other locations
Washington, D. C.

Jenkins Drug Stores
9th & Street N. W.
and other locations
Washington, D. C.

Other drug stores were encouraged but the situation here has come slowly enough to report. It happens that the buying public make its observations and into its activeness in those stores in which fair employment practices are in evidence.

Laundry Establishments

All of the laundry companies observed by CNRS teams proved to have fairly employees on many levels. Negroes were found in nearly just as office clerks, typists, delivery men, and service personnel dealing with the public in the various lines of the laundry business throughout the District of Columbia.

The firms observed were:

Sanitary
113 E Street N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Sanitary and Dry Cleaners Co.
[illegible] - 14th Street N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Arcade Laundry
113 Lower Street N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Again we suggest that the public be selective in its buying practices and patronize those companies which do not discriminate against employees and job seekers because of race, creed, color, and national origin.

Men's Clothing Stores

The Men's weak stores were observed for five days during the first two weeks of September 1961. These stores were informed of the CORE team findings by form letter during the week of October 9, 1961 (See appendix). Some of the stores listed replied to the form letters.

Men's Clothing Stores employing Negro sales and office personnel.	Men's Clothing Stores NOT employing Negro sales and office personnel.
Seely Brothers 1345 F Street N. W. Washington, D. C.	Raleigh Haberdasher 1310 F Street N. W. and other locations Washington, D. C.
Cavalier Men's Shop 1126-1128 - 7th Street N. W. Washington, D. C.	Lewis and Thomas Saltz, Inc. 1409 G Street N. W. and 1009-A Connecticut Avenue N. W. Washington, D. C.
Stewart Men;s Clothes, Inc. 916 F Street N. W. Washington, D. C.	University Shop 1318 G Street N. W. Washington, D. C.
Louie's Clothing Store 639 D Street N. W. Washington, D. C.	Farnsword Reed LTD. 1625 H Street N. W. and 1325 F Street N. W. Washington, D. C.

Again it appears that the results be misleading in the looking perspective and projected those accompanying which in the discussions against our physics and our authors because of some overall-review, and medical: subjects.

Dell's Designing Process

The Dell's most design were discovered for time days during the first two weeks of September 1961. These means were delivered at the DOMS team finishing by from latter during the week of October 9, 1961 (see appendix). Some of the screen layout varied in the same manner.

Dell's Designer Screen Splitting Design screen not active terminal.	Dell's Studying Screen [illegible] Splitting Design Sales and active processed.
Dell Screen 1962 F Screen B. C. Washington, D. C.	Dallas Warehouse 1962 F Screen B. C. and Sales Inquiries Washington, D. C.
Complex Sales Plan 1962-1963 - 3th Screen B. C. Washington, D. C.	Dallas Sales Screen Screen 1962 F Screen B. C. and Sales Inquiries Screen B. C. Washington, D. C.
Screen Sales Forecast, Inc. 1962 F Screen B. C. Washington, D. C.	Warehouse Sales 1962 F Screen B. C. Washington, D. C.
Dallas's Training Screen 1962 F Screen B. C. Washington, D. C.	Personnel Screen (TM) 1962 F Screen B. C. and 1962 F Screen B. C. Washington, D. C.

Stotis - [illegible]
Do not send Neque up [illegible] - HUB

Men's Clothing Stores employing Negro sales and office personnel.	Men's Clothing Stores NOT employing Negro sales and office personnel.
Bruce Hunt 1325 F Street N. W. Washington, D. C.	National Shirt Shops 942 F Street N. W. and other locations Washington, D. C.
Kaufman, D. J., Inc. 1005 Pennsylvania Avenue N. W. and 833 - 14 th Street N. W. Washington, D. C.	Bond Clothes 1335 F Street N. W. and other locations Washington, D. C.
	Webster Clothes, Inc. 1012 F Street N. W. Washington, D. C. and other locations

Shoe Companies - Men and Women

The shoe companies in the Metropolitan Area were observed by CORE teams for five days during the third week in August, 1961, The companies were polled during the second week in October 1961. (See form letter in appendix). The starred shoe companies listed here are those which have instituted merit hiring practices and are especially recommended by CORE to the community.

Shoe companies employing Negro sales and office personnel.	Shoe companies NOT employing Negro sales and office personnel.
A. S. Beck Shoe Corporation 1315 F Street N. W. and other locations Washington, D. C.	Thom McAn 5350 Queens Chapel Rd. at Hamilton Street and other locations Washington Metropolitan Area
William Allen Originals 1014 F Street N. W. and 1203 Connecticut Avenue N. W. Washington, D. C.	Jarman Shoe Store 1339 F Street N. W. Washington, D. C.

[illegible]

[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

National Bank Stores
942 F Street N. W.
[illegible]
[illegible]

Bond Clothing
1327 F Street N. W. and
other locations
Washington, D. C.

[illegible]
1242 F Street N. W.
[illegible]
and other locations

Shoe Companies - Men and Women

The shoe companies in the Metropolitan Area were observed by [illegible] some for five days during one bridal week in August, 1951, [illegible] (See form letter in appendix). The starred shoe companies listed [illegible] are especially recommended by CORE to the community.

[illegible]
[illegible]

[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

Shoe companies employing Negro sales and office personnel.	Shoe companies NOT employing Negro sales and office personnel.
The Bootery 1038 Connecticut Avenue N. W. Washington, D. C.	Regal Shoe Shop 1345 F Street N. W. 915 Pennsylvania Ave. N. W. Washington, D. C.
Crosby&Shoes 1115 F Street N. W. and other locations Washington, D. C.	Holiday and Flagg Brothers Shoe Stores 1301 F Street N. W. and other locations Washington, D. C.
* William Hahn and Compnay 7th and K Streets N. W. 1207 F Street N. W. and other locations Washington, D. C.	
*Kenny Shoes 508 Arlington Blvd. Falls Church, Virginia and other locations	
Joseph DE Young Shoes 13th and F Streets Washington, D. C.	
Forsythe Shoe Store 1223 F Street N. W. Washington, D. C.	

Merit Hiring Progress Report to the Washington Community

CORE wishes to thank the Civic, labor, religious and social organizations, and the interested citizens of the Washington community for their continuing support of the merit hiring drive. Special thanks should go to the Ministers groups, the NAACP and the Urban League for support which has enabled CORE to institute and continue

its efforts in this area. CORE believes that it is because of this support that we have realized a measure of success in opening up job opportunities to non-white citizens of the District of Columbia. Nevertheless, we are sure that these organizations and the community must realize that to date the advances have been only token in many areas. The job market in the City has hardly been touched. There are still many business establishments which depend to a great extent upon the patronage of the entire community, but which still practice open and blatent racism against Negro employees and job seekers. However, we are glad to report that there are some companies in the City which have made the first steps and beyond in the adoption of fair hiring practices. These companies are listed below. CORE recommends that the community make special effort to encourage to these pioneers in the area of fair employment practices.so that they may continue and so that other firms will be encouraged to' follow their examples.

Hahn Shoe Stores
7th and K Streets N. W.
14th and G Streets, N. W.
and other locations
Washington, D. C.

The Hecht Company
7th and F Streets
and other locations
Washington, D. C.

Lerner Shops
1111 F Street N. W.
3110 - 14th Street N. W.
and other locations
Washington, D. C.

The Mann Company (food products)
2215 Adams Place N. E.
Washington, D. C.
(Mann's products are sold at the large food chains in the District of Columbia)

Wilkins Coffee Company
525 Rhode Island Avenue N. E.
Washington, D. C.
(Wilkins products are sold at the large food chain stores in the District of Columbia)

[illegible] in this area. CRC believes that it is because, if [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] established a measure of success in opening up [illegible] [illegible] in responsible positions of the City's [illegible] [illegible]. [illegible], we are sure that [illegible] and the community must realize that to date the advances have been only token in many areas. The job market in the City has hardly been touched. There are still many business establishments which depend to a great extent upon the patronage of the entire community, but which still practice open and blatant racism against Negro employees and job seekers. However, we are glad to report that there are some companies in the City which have made the first steps and beyond in the [illegible]tion of fair hiring practices. These companies are listed below. CORE recommends that the community make special effort to encourage [illegible] companies in the area of fair employment practices, so that they may continue and so that other firms will be encouraged to follow their example.

[illegible]

[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

The Bank Company
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

The Next Issue of the Selective Buying Guide

The next issue of the Selective Buying Guide will deal with other categories of business establishments in the District of Columbia, the insurance companies, ladies apparel stores, super markets, hardware stores and home improvement contracting businesses.

CORE - CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York

SKILLED TRADES GUIDE

INTRODUCTION

CORE has traditionally been and continues to be in sympathy with the basic goals of the trade union movement -- economic and social advancement for all workers, black and white. Where Negroes and other minority group workers have been organized on an integrated basis, the result has been material betterment for the Negro and a stronger union.

However, we are concerned with the difference between the stated goal and the reality for minority group workers. Discrimination exists in the form of segregated locals, membership exclusion clauses, separate seniority lines, and limiting job assignments for Negro workers, particularly among the building crafts, printing trades, transportation and metal crafts industries.

Examples of major breakthroughs achieved recently in New York City are:

1) 130 of 300 apprentices in plumbing industry are Negro and Puerto Rican;

2) 5 out of 15 graduates of the International Typographers Union are nonwhite;

3) Over 300 Negro and Puerto Rican applicants were sent to a new apprenticeship program instituted in Local 3 of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers by CORE, the NAACP, Negro American Labor Council and the Urban League.

Our aim is to make a reality for nonwhite workers the benefits of trade unionism and pressure those derelict individual unions into insuring a democratic labor union for all workers.

SKILLED TRADES GUIDE

I. THE PROBLEM

A) The projected national employment picture through 1970 indicates that there will be proportionately fewer workers required to produce goods and more workers needed to provide trade, finance, insurance and real estate, personal and business services. Negroes and Puerto Ricans are employed predominantly in the declining industries. Construction work will increase, while farm employment will continue to decline. Manufacturing will have less than average growth. Specifically this means: rapid growth in white-collar occupations -- professional, technical, clerical and sales workers; managers, officials and proprietors; smaller growth in blue-collar occupations--craftsmen, and foremen (high growth for pattern makers, tool and die makers, lithographers, brick layers, operating engineers, sheet metal workers, plumbers and electricians), (low demand for paperhangers, painters, bakers and railroad workers), and decline in industrial laborers; above average opportunities for service workers in trade, finance, insurance and real estate and personal business services.

B) Nationally there is a significant shortage in the available supply of skilled manpower, especially in the areas of high demand indicated in A. Among the causes of this shortage are population growth and resultant increased needs, decline in number of the population in the prime work age group (25-44) and increase in age ranges 5-24 and 45 and older, introduction of new fabricating processes and application of automation and other advanced techniques to industry displacing unskilled and semi-skilled workers and requiring greater operating and servicing skills, decline in immigration to U.S., attrition of skilled craftsmen due to death, retirement and geographical and occupational changes and the inadequacy of existing training systems in the United States.

C) Apprenticeship is the prime mode of training future skilled craftsmen. Greater use of automatic machinery requires more technical know-how and versatility, thus deemphasizing and making impractical existing informal training methods.

D) Because Negroes and Puerto Ricans are an important source of labor supply in urban industrial centers and they are concentrated in greater numerical proportion than whites in the prime work age group of 25-44, they are a significant source for relieving the skilled manpower shortage. However, non-whites have not been used historically in large numbers in the skilled trades and are today frequently barred from developing such skills because of discriminatory practices.

E) Today, Negroes and Puerto Ricans are not employed significantly in skilled-craft occupations. They are disproportionately concentrated in unskilled and semi-skilled categories in which job opportunities generally are decreasing. Thus, the differential between white and colored workers is being perpetuated and may become greater unless immediate effective action is taken.

-Cont.-

F) A major reason for the lack of Negro and Puerto Rican craftsmen is the closing of apprenticeship opportunities to nonwhite youth. Associated factors are the decline of craft opportunities for Negroes in the South and the traditional discriminatory practices of craft unions, especially the building trades, transportation and printing industry and in tool and die and related metal crafts.

G) Factors influencing exclusion of Negroes from formal training programs in the skilled trades, all of which are not specifically anti- Negro.are:

1. Because of a standing historical pattern of discrimination, Negro youth are not presented with skilled Negro role models (parent, relative or neighbor who is skilled craftsman), for identification.

2. Other influences are: Lack of understanding of industrial environment (procedure for applying for apprenticeship, qualifications for apprenticeship) poor and ill-informed vocational guidance.

3. Consequently, large sections of Negro and other minority group youth lack adequate preparation for those skilled training opportunities that are open to them.

4. The informal and haphazard recruitment procedure, with exception of large industrial plants, results in general lack of knowledge of apprenticeship openings. To date, management, labor and government have condoned informal arrangements whereby apprenticeship opportunities are limited to offspring, relatives or friends. As a result, many programs in this area of employment are characterized by "nepotism" and "cronyism."

5. With relatively few apprenticeship openings and an over-abundant supply of white applicants some Negroes will not be hired.

6. Because of residential segregation some apprentice opportunities are closed to Negroes by geographical location.

7. Some ambitious nonwhites will not be motivated to enter the field because of the general low-prestige of manual labor in American society and a desire to escape the family background of "blue-collar" employment.

8. Other minority group youth will reject apprenticeship because of the long training period with no immediate substantial economic gain. Emerging from a background of poverty, a large portion of the Negro labor force will accept less mobile unskilled or semi-skilled jobs to satisfy immediate economic needs and wants.

-Cont.-

H) There are and will be significant numbers of Negro and other minority group youth who are qualified and will apply for admission into certified apprenticeship programs. They are then confronted with the problem of racial discrimination overtly or covertly, North and South, by unions and management often with the indirect sanction of federal and state government by the following means:

1. Discriminatory application of objective standards to Negro and white applicants; non-communication of management policy to subordinate personnel, apprenticeship recruitment from sources least likely to produce Negro applicants.

2. Motivations for discriminatory practices in the skilled trades vary:

   a) Management may in fact believe that Negroes have undesirable characteristics for skilled positions, fear placing Negroes in public contact positions and may not want nonwhites to gain experience or training which may lead to positions of authority in the lower ranks of the industrial hierarchy.

   b) Unions may reject Negroes because of real or fancied membership opposition, intra-union power considerations (leadership retention) desire to maintain control of labor supply, and uncontested autonomy of prejudiced local union officials operating contrary to stated international union policy. There prevails in some locals a caste psychology by which some workers think of their jobs as "white men's jobs," to which no Negro should aspire.

   c) State governments may subsidize and assist discriminatory apprenticeship programs.

II. OPENING OPPORTUNITIES

A. The aid of social service agencies, vocational guidance counselors, teachers and ministers in both the Negro and white community should be enlisted to direct nonwhite youth toward skilled-craft training and employment.

B) Determine what firms (including government agencies and installations) are the major employers of manpower in your community, e.g., largest 5 or 10? What are the employment practices of each as to his use of Negroes? Excluded? Unrestricted use? Use in traditional Negro categories? Other practices?

1. Public or Private Ownership: If public, is it operated by the Federal Government, State, City, or County: joint relationship: Federal-State, City-County, or other types of relationship. If private, does it have a contract with the Federal Government to furnish goods or services?

-Cont.-

2. Size of establishment, number of employees, turnover in employees, volume of sales or product output?

3. Part of chain or single unit firm?

4. Scale of production: Labor-capital ratio; distribution of labor force by occupational level; assembly line vs. custom precision technique of production?

C) Determine who specifically are the major parties (Employer, Employees, Customers) in a given firm and what information about each may be helpful in plotting the course of your merit employment program?

1. General reputation of employer in community

2. Response of employees and customers to merit hiring program particularly picketing or boycott

D) What are the possible sources of redress in case of discrimination by any of the parties -- present and future?

1. Agencies with operating staffs and resources

2. Local organizations and Agencies

3. Laws -- federal, state, city

E) What important resources (organizations, individuals, financial backing, etc.) are there in your community that are working or may be motivated to work for full employment of Negroes on basis of merit (predominantly Negro; Bi-racial or predominantly white in membership, outlook and program.)

F) To which major areas of activity listed below can various groups significantly contribute in achieving the employment of Negroes on basis of the merit of each applicant (capacity, qualification, seniority in some cases?)

1. Strengthen old and create strong and valid new incentives (motivation) to maximum effort and a high level of achievement among Negro (youth) for education for future employment at its highest capacity; and in fostering the full utilization in present employment of qualified Negro workers at their highest skills.

-Cont.-

2. Pre-employment training for future employment: Increase the quality, quantity, and diversification of educational opportunity available by strengthening the educational establishments, (facilities, personnel, and equipment) now open to Negro students and by fostering their non-discriminatory access to such establishments (educational institutions, training facilities of employers and/or unions) now closed to them by law, custom, defiance of law, or inertia. Such new opportunities should include equality of access to financial aid and educational subsidy -- scholarships, trainee wages for in-plant training, reduced tuition fees to in-state or-city students of public educational institutions.

3. Strengthen present employment and utilization practices on merit.

III. DIRECT ACTION PROCEDURE

A) Determine whether basic responsibility rests with union or management in order to best focus action.

B) Negotiations with those you believe to be responsible. These should be detailed good-faith negotiations but should not be so delayed as to miss entrance deadlines.

C) Picketing of responsible hiring party -- union or firm -- to assess reaction and possible support from other workers and surrounding community. Informal talks, surveys and leaflets may be used to this end.

D) Sit-ins may be used in employment office of management or appropriate union headquarters.

E) Make sure press knows nature of discrimination and history of CORE negotiations.

F) Keep the Program and Community Relations Departments informed of your progress in this vital area.

* * * * *

SOME SUGGESTED READING

Apprentices, Skilled Craftsmen and the Negro, An Analysis, by the New York State Commission on Human Rights, 270 Broadway, New York.

Discrimination in Labor Unions, James J. Graham; The Catholic World, September, 1961, 180 Varick Street, New York, New York.

Fair Employment Works, Julius A. Thomas; Industrial Relations Consultant, National Urban League, Oceana Publications, 1951.

Labor and the Civil Rights Revolution, Harry Fleischman; New Leader, April 18, 1960, 7 East 15 Street.

Negroes in the Work Group, Dr. Jacob Seidenberg; National Council of Christians and Jews, 43 West 57th Street, New York, New York.

Racism Within Organized Labor, A Report of Five Years of the AFL-CIO, 1955-1960; Labor Department, NAACP, 20 West 40th Street, New York 18, New York.

The High Cost of Discrimination, Elmo Roper; National Conference of Crhistians and Jews, 43 West 57th Street, New York, New York.

The Negro Wage-Earner and Apprenticeship Training Programs, Labor Department, NAACP, 20 West 40th Street, New York, New York.

February 25, 1964

Miss Roena Rand has been attending Washington CORE meetings since approximately March 5, 1963. There is a question concerning Miss Rand's membership authenticity in the organization. When Miss Rand was asked about joining Washington CORE she stated that she belonged to both Los Angeles and Cleveland CORE and didn't have to join Washington CORE. Miss Rand was informed that she must join Washington CORE in order to be considered a member. Mrs. Dolores Pelham, member of the Membership Committee since it was organized and Mr. Ashley Toon, present Treasurer since approximately June 1963, report never having received any membership dues in any form from Miss Rand.

When Miss Rand was asked about her membership by Jack Goodwin, present Membership Committee Chairman, she produced 2 cancelled checks made out to Washington CORE. Although Mr. Goodwin admitted that these checks were no proof of her membership, they were accepted as probable evidence.

On April 2, 1963, Miss Rand was appointed Chairman of the Membership Committee. After serving in that capacity for a week, she resigned her chairmanship after engaging in an arguement at the Executive Committee meeting on April 9, 1963, with the Chairman. The arguement concerned the function of the Membership Committee.

On April 30 at the general meeting, after the minutes of April 16 were read, Miss Rand bitterly objected to the fact that Marilyn Outlaw was appointed as Chairman of the Membership Committee. Miss Rand objected because she stated that she had been appointed as Co-Chairman

of the Committee along with Miss Outlaw. Miss Joan Bacchus took the minutes of April 30 and included Miss Rand's statement that she was appointed as Co-Chairman of the Membership Committee. On May 14, the minutes of April 30 were amended to read that Roena Rand had not been appointed Co-Chairman of the Membership Committee.

On August 13, 1963, Miss Rand proposed having freedom singing before or after the Mass March on Washington. Miss Rand was appointed to take charge of the affair. Details of the singing were not given to the membership at the August 20 general membership meeting nor was a mailing sent out to the body. Personal friends of Miss Rand's were contacted and participated along with others at the March in the singing program. CORE however, was presented a bill by Miss Rand for printing of songs that were used.

On January 7, 1964, at the general meeting, Miss Rand was ruled out of order by the Chair for verbally attacking the Chairman when the Chairman of the Voter Registration Committee was giving his report. Miss Rand's auguement was that Negroes should be voter registration captains instead of whites. Miss Rand was told that she would be suspended by the Chapter if she continued to be disorderly. She continued her outbursts. She did not volunteer her services to be a Voter Registration Captain. On January 14, 1964, the Executive Committee made and passed a motion that Roena Rand was found to be disorderly at the general meeting on January 7, 1964.

On February 18, Miss Rand conducted a libelous attack on the Safeway Committee Chairman at the general membership meeting stating that the Safeway Chairman hadn't done any investigation, figures were inaccurate, etc. Miss Rand never volunteered to join the Safeway Committee or attend the Committee meetings to discuss these matters.

On February 18, at the general meeting, Miss Rand complained of not being notified personally that CORE lobbists were in town. Mr. Hobson appointed her as Chairman of the Lobbying Committee and instructed her to find housing, and secure transportation for the lobbists. Miss Rand told the Chairman that she didn't want those duties but just wanted to make congressional contacts with the lobbists.

Miss Rand has attended general CORE meetings regularly, attended a CORE orientation session and has participated actively and faithfully in CORE projects prior to the beginning of this year. While she has contributed numerous suggestions and constructive critism at meetings, her comments at other times have been divisive, disruptive and detrimental to the organization. Her unrestrained outbursts at CORE meetings have, on many occasions, prevented the completion of necessary business. Such behavior is un-CORE like and contrary to the spirit of CORE policy and action, as is her failure to follow instructions of CORE officers presiding at public meetings.

In February 71, Miss Hand mentioned a libelous attack on the Lafayette Committee Chairman at the general democratic meeting stating that the Lafayette Chairman hadn't done any investigation, figures were inaccurate, etc. Miss Hand never volunteered to join the Lafayette Committee or attend the Committee meetings to discuss these matters.

In February 71, at the general meeting, Miss Hand complained of not being notified personally that CORE lobbyists were in town. Mr. Hanson appointed her as Chairman of the Lobbying Committee and instructed her to find housing, and secure transportation for the lobbyists. Miss Hand told the Chairman that she didn't want those duties but just wanted to make congressional contacts with the lobbyist.

Miss Hand has attended several CORE meetings regularly, attended a CORE orientation session and has participated actively and faithfully in CORE projects prior to the beginning of this year. While she has contributed numerous suggestions and constructive criticism at meetings, her comments at other times have been divisive, disruptive and detrimental to the organization. Her unrestrained outbursts at CORE meetings have, on many occasions, prevented the completion of necessary business. Such behavior is un-CORE like and contrary to the spirit of CORE policy and action, as is her failure to follow instructions of CORE officers presiding at public meetings.

STATEMENT OF CHAIRMAN TO PEPCO AND WASHINGTON GAS LIGHT CO.

In July of last year, Senator Thomas J. Todd, Chairman of the U. S. Senate Subcommittee to Investigate Juvenile Delinquency, introduced a bill in the Senate to prohibit racial or religious discrimination in employment in the District of Columbia. At the time, he cited statistics showing approximately 13,000 youths between the ages of 16 and 20 out of school and out of work here. He said, "The simple fact is that the Washington labor market is ruthlessly segregated in many fields, and colored people have been denied equal access to virtually all fields."

Even earlier, Dr. James B. Conant, internationally renowned scientist and educator, in a study of the educational problems of metropolitan areas, indicated that the increasingly large number of youths without adequate training in job skills and without hope of meaningful employment now accumulating in our cities constitute an explosive potential in these communities. More recently, Attorney General Robert Kennedy challenged the leaders of this city to face the racial implications of these problems squarely, in order to avert just such explosive possibilities as those referred to by Dr. Conant.

As responsible members of this community, we are here today because we believe it our duty to accept this challenge. Further, we believe that the public utility companies of this city, enjoying as they do a monopoly of services whose economic position is maintained at the expense of the entire community, have a special obligation as their response to the challenge to provide leadership in making job training and employment opportunities readily available to the Negro youth of this city.

The dominant and influential positions of these companies demand that they vigorously pursue policies designed to create an economic atmosphere in the District of Columbia in which Negro job seekers will feel free to apply for any and all available jobs for which they can qualify or be trained. Moreover, we believe this can only be accomplished by a merit-hiring program that gives preferential treatment to Negro job seekers, particularly in training programs, and places Negro personnel in positions of high visibility requiring direct contact with the public.

This meeting is an indication of the seriousness of our concern that immediate steps be taken to give concrete reality to "merit hiring," and to end policies that are, primarily, verbal declarations of good intentions to indicate "tokenism" - employment that remains ruthlessly segregated and racially discriminatory.

*****

October 30,1962

Pertinent Facts

1. Total number of employees
   Number of Negro employees
   Percent of Negro employees

2. Job classifications such as
   Engineers
   Clerical
   Mechanics
   Administrative etc.

3. Job qualifications
   Education requirements
   Experience requirements
   Training requirements
   Examinations given

4. Annual gross hiring rates
   Negro
   White

5. Applications per year
   Negro
   White

6. Promotion
   Average time in grade
      Negro
      White

7. Recruiting sources
   Union
   United States Employment Service
   Private employment agencies
   Help wanted ads, etc.

See pages 9 & 10

Jules

ON THIS LINE

Ref: Jeremiah 7:1-15

Carey Brewer
Laymen's Sunday
October 13, 1963

The Book of Jeremiah is one of the most complicated portions of the Old Testament. But its central message is clear and simple. Over and over again Jeremiah tells of the coming destruction of Jerusalem. He warns his people in the most shocking language, the very harshest words at his command, that unless they repent they are doomed to utter and complete devastation. This is not a happy thought, and there is little wonder that he is scorned by his people and cast aside.

Jeremiah was an educated man, a priest highly schooled and intensely concerned with the moral and spiritual issues of his day. And as he examined his society he saw a people who gave lip service to the scriptures but led a life totally at variance with their teachings. He was seized by a compulsion to take a stand and speak his mind for all to hear. He earnestly sought to turn his people away from their wicked ways, but in his heart he knew they would not listen. He recalled for them their great Covenant with God; he warned that because they had destroyed the Covenant, God would strike them down. He predicted their destruction.

I have often thought that Jeremiah must have given long and prayerful thought to what he had to do. Yea, he must have felt something of the agony that Christ was to experience when He would contemplate the journey to the cross. One thing is certain, he did not tell himself that the job could be done somewhere else, at another time, by someone else.

In our church school Bible Study class we have learned that one of the important purposes of Bible study is to find applications for the scriptures in our contemporary world; to see how the eternal truths of the Bible should be applied to problems we face today. In this respect, it would be easy to say simply that Jeremiah's prophecy of doom and destruction applies equally to our time, and that unless we repent of our evil ways we shall suffer the fate of Jerusalem. But I believe there is a more meaningful, a more concrete and specific lesson for us if we consider the challenge that faced Jeremiah. This is a challenge to do something, and it has been summed up by one writer in terms of three simple questions:

If not here, where?

If not now, when?

If not I, who?

In one form or another these questions have confronted great men throughout recorded history. Put another way, men have achieved greatness because they have dared to face up to these questions. They have not waited for a challenging task to be performed somewhere else, at another time, by someone else.

(I may say, our Bible Study class knows what happened when Nehemiah accepted the challenge of these questions. But I shall save the story of Nehemiah until you enroll in our study class!)

The point is that we in this congregation should examine our society and decide what we should do here, in this place, at this time, to meet the major challenges confronting us.

I personally am convinced that our churches today have ceased to be the leaders in our society's pursuit of moral and spiritual values. I believe we have taken the easy way out, by giving lip service to the scriptures but declining to meet the challenging realities all around us. The most obvious of these challenges, of course, is that of social justice for an oppressed minority group in our society. Certainly, in church we can say "Jesus loves us all," "we are all His sheep," "we are brothers in Christ." But we are unwilling to stand up in our neighborhoods, in our places of work, in our fraternal and professional organizations and take actions which would give meaning to our professed beliefs.

One Negro leader has said "If you want to practice brotherhood ask me to lunch sometime other than during Brotherhood Week."

This is not meant to be a sermon on civil rights. It just so happens that race relations has become a victim of a political and social breakdown in our society. The race question happens at this time to be the most apparent manifestation of our inability to deal with social -- and indeed economic -- problems through our established political processes. Our political processes of course embrace all the forces in our society which have an influence on political decisions. Hopefully, this includes the church as an institution, and specifically our congregation as a local political force.

Please understand that I use this term in its broadest sense. It has nothing to do with partisan politics.

The kind of breakdown in political and social processes which I am speaking of has taken place in varying degrees on numerous occasions in the life of our republic. During periods of drastic economic change, such as a depression, in wartime and in similar periods of rapidly changing conditions our social institutions tend to lag behind the times. We are unable to adjust rapidly to the realities of the day; pressures build up and tend to increase the possibility that established processes will be by-passed by direct action. Mob action can replace orderly police enforcement and court procedures. Demonstrations replace the ballot box as a means of redressing grievances.

What we are witnessing today is in a sense a social revolution somewhat akin to the economic revolutions marked by the Boston Tea Party in 1774, by the labor agitation of the 1920's, the bonus march on Washington in the 1930's, and by the social revolutions of the Suffragettes of the 1900's and the abolitionist demonstrations in some of our northern cities in the 1850's.

These were startling and sometimes shocking events in American social and political development. In 1919 the Nation recoiled in horror when the Bethlehem Steel Company cut off the milk supplies to the families of striking steel workers. On March 3, 1913, the day before his inauguration, President-elect Wilson was picketed by a mob of Suffragettes at Union Station. And in the summer of 1931 General MacArthur, aided by a young Army major named Dwight Eisenhower, called out the troops at Ft. Myer to disperse the destitute mob of veterans seeking a Federal bonus.

The social unrest in various sections of our country today is not new; it just happens to be here and now. Indeed, recent events in the mainstream of our society are strangely reminiscent of the American scene of 100 years ago. Today Birmingham and Little Rock, Danville and Oxford dominate the headlines. A hundred years ago it was Harper's Ferry and Fort Sumter.

A hundred years ago we were plunged into the horror of civil strife in what has been termed the "Inevitable Conflict." Historians tell us that the dominant forces of our mid-nineteenth century society were so divergent and irreconcilable that armed conflict between the North and South was inevitable. Whether it was inevitable or not, it was at least predictable.

This may be true, but surely you're not going to say that we are on the verge of civil war today! No, I am not saying that. But I say that civil strife and violent social upheaval is just as predictable today as it was a hundred years ago; just as predictable today as in the day of Jeremiah 2500 years ago.

That is, predictable if we do not heed the clear warnings available to us.

The main issue then, as now, was not a question of race. The slavery issue was but a manifestation of a breakdown in our political process. In the years between the Mexican War and the Civil War the almost unprecedented expansionist pressures of our society completely altered our social and economic complexion. The political predominance of the South, whose leaders had virtually dominated national affairs since colonial days, was swept aside, but our refusal to accept the realities of change led to the bloody carnage of armed conflict.

The troops that fired on Ft. Sumter in the Spring of 1861 did not cause the Civil War. That "great tragedy" was brought on by a bankrupt political process. The crack in the Union came only after -- years after -- the fabric of our society was destroyed by factionalism. Long before the climax of Ft. Sumter our fraternal and professional societies and, indeed, our churches had split between North and South.

Now, I don't know if anything could have been done to avoid the Civil War. I don't know whether any other events of civil disruption in our society could have been avoided. But I think it is fair to say that our churches have had abundant opportunity to step forward and lead the way in the long parade of moral and spiritual issues that have confronted our Nation. And I am afraid that we have not done so.

A few weeks ago I heard Billy Graham retell the story of Daniel to a crowd of more than 150,000 in the Los Angeles Coliseum. This is a story similar in many respects to that of Jeremiah. You will recall that when Jerusalem was destroyed -- as predicted by Jeremiah -- the Babylonian Army carried away most of its inhabitants, including the prophet Daniel. In due time Daniel became one of the principal advisers to the Babylonian leader named Belshazzar. But he lost his standing because he kept warning Belshazzar not to mock the Lord. When Belshazzar persisted in his evil ways, when he desecrated

the gold and silver vessels taken from the altar of the temple in Jerusalem, Daniel, like Jeremiah before him, spoke out with a prophecy of destruction if Belshazzar did not repent. And, lo, that very night Belshazzar was slain.

I was impressed by Billy Graham's sermon, not so much because of the story of Daniel, but because Billy Graham was able to apply the lesson of the scriptures to our modern world. He noted that Daniel kept his faith; he would not go along with the crowd; he denounced evil ways no matter how powerful the evil-doers. And his faith was vindicated.

Billy Graham preached the same doctrine as did Jeremiah and Daniel. He said, "When we as a Nation lose our faith, we lose our character; when we lose our character, we lose our will to survive."

This thought has stayed with me and since that time I have contemplated the meaning of faith in terms of our willingness to do something. For Billy Graham it has meant a personal crusade to win lives for Christ around the world with a simple plea to repent and turn away from our sinful ways; to stand up for the moral and spiritual values of our society.

Fourteen years ago he began this crusade in a small tent with a makeshift pulpit. Last month he spoke to the largest group of people ever to assemble for a religious service! With more than 150,000 people inside the Los Angeles Coliseum, some 20,000 were assembled outside to hear his voice over specially arranged loudspeakers. At the conclusion literally thousands of people stood up to make their personal commitment to Christ.

The remarkable achievements of Billy Graham over the past 14 years have a special significance for me, because it was just about 14 years ago that I came to Washington, with a fresh B.A. degree and a strong sense of mission, to begin my career in the Federal service. It was only a few years later that this church was founded, and I think we can rightly say that this church has made a significant impact in Northern Virginia and in the Capital Area. Certainly we have provided the proving-ground for one of the outstanding pastoral ministers in our Brotherhood, and his achievements give us a kind of reflected glory.

In another respect, the past 14 years also provide a meaningful commentary on the present struggle for racial equality -- a commentary not unlike the decade immediately preceding the Civil War. One of my first acquaintances in the Federal service -- about 14 years ago -- was a clean-cut young Negro man who had earned his Ph.D. degree at night school, carrying a full load of studies, while supporting his family by full-time employment in the agency for which I worked. Occasionally,

he and I would take our afternoon coffee-break together, and I soon came to know him fairly well. It became apparent to me, and to him, that despite his obvious qualifications his long-term advancement in the agency was blocked simply because of his color.

I don't know what I would have done in his place, but that young man decided that he could not wait for someone else, at another time, in another place to stand up to the challenge that faced him. He left the Federal service and committed his life to the struggle for racial justice.

That young man was Julius Hobson, who today leads an army of dedicated volunteers as Washington Regional Director of the Congress of Racial Equality.

I have not seen Julius Hobson personally since he left the Federal service. But I have seen his photograph in Life Magazine and in other national publications and I have seen him on television, and I have seen his pickets at work. A great talent has been lost to the public service simply because of the color of a man's skin.

Let me cite yet another example of a man who responded to the challenge of who, where and when. Whatever the faults of General U. S. Grant (if you will pardon my reference to a foreigner!), he was able to perceive the realities of his world and he was willing to do what had to be done.

You will recall that General Grant was called to command the Army of the Potomac in the Winter of 1864 to succeed a long list of prominent generals who had failed to press the attack against the outnumbered Confederate troops of Northern Virginia. For three long years Gen. Lee and Gen. Jackson had repeatedly thrashed the Union armies led successively by Generals McDowell, McClellan, Pope, Burnside and Hooker. Each of these generals had an opportunity to fight the decisive battle of the war, but each tended to postpone the hour of decision, always seeking more troops, more supplies, more favorable conditions.

When General Grant took command he immediately deployed his troops across the Rapidan River and on May 13, 1864, he sent an epic telegram to the Secretary of War simply stating: "I propose to fight it out on this line if it takes all summer."

It did take all summer; and it took all the next winter, but he pressed on to the final victory and the climax of Appomattox Court House in the Spring of 1865. He brought a speedy end to a protracted conflict because he was willing to accept the challenge and place his cause <u>on the line</u>, <u>where</u> he was, at <u>that</u> time.

I cite these examples of great achievements under vastly differing circumstances merely to indicate that men achieve greatness not because it is thrust upon them or because of the accidents of history, but because they are willing to chart their course and stick it out, they are willing to draw a line and do what needs to be done.

What would have happened if you and I had faced up to the responsibility of moral and spiritual leadership together with Billy Graham 14 years ago? Where would Julius Hobson be today if somehow 14 years ago we could have solved the problem of racial inequality? (Perhaps he would now be a U. S. ambassador or a part of the President's Cabinet.) What would have happened if this congregation had resolved at the time it was chartered that it would be a forceful influence in dealing with the moral and spiritual issues of our day?

I think there are encouraging signs today that the church of our Lord <u>will</u> move up to the line and attempt to grapple with the realities of the modern world. It is most encouraging that the International Convention at Miami Beach is, during this very week, seeking an "act of commitment" on the part of those in attendance; that our Brotherhood as a whole is being called upon to provide leadership in the solution of pressing moral and spiritual problems in our communities.

It is also encouraging that our General Board has authorized the establishment of a Christian Action and Community Service Committee. And I am pleased that a former chairman of our Board has agreed to head that Committee. Mr. Norman Laird is a man of courage and conviction, and great ability. And I am sure that our congregation will give him utmost support.

This greater commitment to social action is evident throughout Christendom. You will recall that Pope Paul VI in reconvening the Ecumenical Council just two weeks ago made an urgent plea to "build a bridge toward the contemporary world."

More and more we are bridging the gap between Christian teachings and Christian action. We are beginning to understand that if we are all sons of the Father we are brothers one to another.

* * * *

A few weeks ago, in the wake of the terrible explosion that wrecked a Negro church in Birmingham, killing four little girls in a Sunday School class, a white Birmingham lawyer delivered the following commentary to a segregated meeting of the Young Men's Business Club:

"Who did it? It's really rather simple. The 'who' is every little individual who talks about the 'niggers' and spreads the seeds of his

hate to his neighbor and his son. The 'who' is every governor who ever shouted for lawlessness and became a law violator. It is every senator and every representative who in the halls of Congress stands and with mock humility tells the world that things back home aren't really like they are. It is courts that move ever so slowly and newspapers that timorously defend the law. It is all the Christians and all their ministers who spoke too late in anguished cries against violence. It is the coward in each of us who clucks admonitions. We are 10 years of lawless preachments, 10 years of criticism of law, of courts, of our fellow man; a decade of telling schoolchildren the opposite of what the civics books say. We are a mass of intolerance and bigotry and stand indicted before our young. We are cursed by the failure of each of us to accept responsibility, by our defense of an already dead institution."

Is this not the language of Jeremiah? Of Daniel? Is this not something that Billy Graham might have said?

I challenge you, and I challenge myself, to awaken to the moral and spiritual realities of our community, to accept the call to greatness and to say: "I propose to fight it out on the line if it takes all summer."

STATEMENT OF CHAIRMAN TO PEPCO AND WASHINGTON GAS LIGHT CO.

In July of last year, Senator Thomas J. Todd, Chairman of the U. S. Senate Subcommittee to Investigate Juvenile Delinquency, introduced a bill in the Senate to prohibit racial or religious discrimination in employment in the District of Columbia. At the time, he cited statistics showing approximately 13,000 youths between the ages of 16 and 20 out of school and out of work here. He said, "The simple fact is that the Washington labor market is ruthlessly segregated in many fields, and colored people have been denied equal access to virtually all fields."

Even earlier, Dr. James B. Conant, internationally renowned scientist and educator, in a study of the educational problems of metropolitan areas, indicated that the increasingly large number of youths without adequate training in job skills and without hope of meaningful employment now accumulating in our cities constitute an explosive potential in these communities. More recently, Attorney General Robert Kennedy challenged the leaders of this city to face the racial implications of these problems squarely, in order to avert just such explosive possibilities as those referred to by Dr. Conant.

As responsible members of this community, we are here today because we believe it our duty to accept this challenge. Further, we believe that the public utility companies of this city, enjoying as they do a monopoly of services whose economic position is maintained at the expense of the entire community, have a special obligation as their response to the challenge to provide leadership in making job training and employment opportunities readily available to the Negro youth of this city.

The dominant and influential positions of these companies demand that they vigorously pursue policies designed to create an economic atmosphere in the District of Columbia in which Negro job seekers will feel free to apply for any and all available jobs for which they can qualify or be trained. Moreover, we believe this can only be accomplished by a merit-hiring program that gives preferential treatment to Negro job seekers, particularly in training programs, and places Negro personnel in positions of high visibility requiring direct contact with the public.

This meeting is an indication of the seriousness of our concern that immediate steps be taken to give concrete reality to "merit hiring," and to end policies that are, primarily, verbal declarations of good intentions to indicate "tokenism" in employment that remains ruthlessly segregated and racially discriminatory.

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COMPLAINT OF POLICE BRUTALITY

Affidavit of Complainant

District of Columbia:

I, Willie Smith, being first duly sworn to law, depose and say:

I am a citizen of the District of Columbia and I presently reside at 1341 15th Street N.W., apartment #1. I wish to complain about police brutality against me. The circumstances are set out in the following paragrahs.

Sunday morning, on July 26, around 11:30 A.M., my wife and I had a scuffle in the alley around the corner from our apartment. We came back to the apartment, but the landlady had become afraid and called the police when she saw that there was blood on my eye from the scratch my wife had given me.

My wife and I were sitting on the bed in our apartment around noon, when the police knocked at the door. The police said they had received a call. I told them it was all over and they could leave. My wife said something and I said, "You shut up." I walked over and sat down on the bed. The short policeman was in front. He walked over and grabbed me and told me to put my clothes on. I got up. He knocked me on the chair with his fists. The short policeman hit me with a blackjack over the left eye and knocked me to the floor. The tall policeman held my arm behind my back, the short policeman then asked my wife to leave and ushered her to the bedroom door and shut the door. The short policeman then walked over to the window and began calling me names. I was lying with my face down on the floor. The short policeman came over and kicked me and called me a nigger. I said, "I'll go out, you don't have to kick me like that." The short policeman replied, "I know you're going out, nigger," and kicked my again in the ribs. I called for my wife, the tall policeman was holding my arms. The short one began to shake his arm and said, "Nigger, I'm going to kill you." I got away and got up. I don't know how. I had on no undershirt and no shoes. They handcuffed me and dragged me out of the apartment. Each one held one of my arms and pushed me out the door. I was becoming dizzy. They threw me into the patty wagon waiting in front of the house and took me to #2 Precinct Jail where I was charged for "Drunk and Disorderly." I had had nothing to drink. Around 1:00 in the afternoon I complained that I was sick, and they took me to D.C. General Hospital. I arrived at the waiting room around 1:30 P.M. Alcohol examined me around 4:30 P.M. He just put

his hand on my chest, under my arms and said that I was OK. He was a colored doctor with a goatee; I don't know his name. Around 6:30 or so they took me back to the Second Precinct. The left side of my face was swollen and they took me to the 1 Precinct to have my picture taken. I had on no shirt or shoes. My landlord bailed me out at 11:53 P.M. Sunday night.

Tuesday I got in touch with the 12 Precinct captain after talking to the head chief on the 5th floor of the Court House and telling him that I had pains in my side and dizzy spells and that the police had beaten in an arrest. They took me to D.C. General again on Tuesday around 11:00 A.M. The same doctor examined me and found that I had a broken rib. I had two x-rays and was treated for a broken rib at D.C. General.

Please keep Miss Judith Shelton of Washington CORE informed concerning this matter.

_____

Willie Smith

Subscribed and sworn before me this _____ day of August, 1963

_____

Notary Public

He continued:

I wonder if you appreciate what a powerful weapon Captive Nations Week puts in the hands of free mankind. Each year the observances have grown in strength and impact.

Speeches made here and in many other parts of the United States and statements made in Congress all remind Americans that millions of people, once free, are now under the domination of the international Communist conspiracy.

Freedom does not exist in a vacuum and our own liberties remain in jeopardy when people elsewhere are deprived of their right to choose their own governments, are prevented from worshiping in the churches and temples of their choice, are forbidden even to choose what kind of work they will do.

But our words carry far beyond our shores. They reach people in Poland, Hungary, Lithuania, Ukraine, Czechoslavakia, Latvia, Estonia, White Ruthenia, Bulgaria, mainland China, and other subjugated nations. We assure them that we know of their plight and are awaiting the day when they shall rejoin the family of free nations.

The gentleman from Pennsylvania, Congressman SCRANTON, in a second recommendation, asked that the United States reaffirm its opposition to the admission of Red China to the United Nations. He also urged that the Voice of America expand its broadcasts to the non-Russian peoples inside the Soviet Union.

The gentleman from Pennsylvania said:

We must have, absolutely, a firm policy in resisting every pressure they [the Communists] undertake. Mr. Khrushchev said he will bury us. Every aid we give the people of the captive nations is a spadeful of earth to bury him.

We, in Buffalo, were happy to have Congressman SCRANTON join us in our observance of Captive Nations Week.

H.R. 8900—A BILL TO AUTHORIZE FEDERAL AID FOR NEEDED EXPANSION OF ACADEMIC FACILITIES

(Mrs. GREEN of Oregon asked and was given permission to extend her remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mrs. GREEN of Oregon. Mr. Speaker, H.R. 8900, a bill to authorize Federal aid for needed expansion of academic facilities, is now in conference. There appeared in the August 1 edition of the Washington Post a letter to the editor which, it seems to me, gives an accurate account of the number of colleges—tax supported and private, church related and nonchurch related. It reads as follows:

In his column of July 17, Drew Pearson states that the Education Committees of Congress are debating "whether grants or loans should be given to religious institutions; i.e., colleges and universities, the great majority of them Catholic." This is simply not true. The great majority of church-affiliated colleges are not Catholic but rather Protestant. According to the 1961–62 Educational Directory of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, there are 807 religious colleges in the United States, of which 475 are Protestant, 308 Catholic, and 24 are divided among 6 other denominations.

One could perhaps ignore this error were it not for Mr. Pearson's completely distorted treatment of the Federal college-aid bills. Nowhere in his column is there the slightest indication that the bills would aid all 2,040 American colleges (721 public colleges, 512 private nonreligious colleges, and 807 religious colleges). Instead, the column is concerned only with the subject of "Federal aid to Catholic colleges," leaving the reader with the false impression that the bills are solely for the benefit of Catholic schools. In every paragraph we find such misleading phrases as "tax money paid by Protestants would go to Catholic institutions" and "outright grants to Catholic colleges."

Why are the 308 Catholic colleges singled out for special treatment by Mr. Pearson while the other 499 religious colleges are completely ignored? Does Mr. Pearson object to Catholic colleges sharing on an equal and nondiscriminatory basis with other American colleges? Does the Constitution really say Federal aid cannot be given to 308 Catholic colleges but such aid may be given to 475 Protestant colleges?

Mr. Pearson also distorts the Hill-Burton Act, which he describes as a bill that "has extended many millions of dollars to Catholic hospitals." Here again Catholic participation in a bill is deliberately singled out to create the false impression that the bill is solely for the benefit of Catholic institutions. Actually, the Hill-Burton Act provides Federal assistance for the construction of public and other nonprofit hospitals filling a community need. Under this act over $300 million has been granted for construction of Jewish, Protestant, and Catholic hospitals and additional hundreds of millions of dollars have gone to publicly owned hospitals.

JAMES A. MILLER.

BELAIR-BOWIE, MD.

DANGER IN ALBANY, GA.

The SPEAKER. Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from New York [Mr. RYAN] is recognized for 30 minutes.

(Mr. RYAN of New York asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. RYAN of New York. Mr. Speaker, I bring a frightening warning from the Reverend Martin Luther King and Dr. William G. Anderson, the Reverend Wyatt Tee Walker, and other Negro leaders in Albany, Ga., a warning which I have found with my own eyes to be dangerously true.

In Dr. King's words:

Albany, Ga., may explode into another Little Rock.

Dr. King pointed out to me last night in his jail cell, which he shares with the Reverend Ralph D. Abernathy, that the explosion can come at any minute unless action is taken to protect the rights of American citizens in an American city.

Every one of us and every American must be shocked by what has happened and is happening this very minute in Albany. Interstate bus facilities continue to be segregated. City officials refuse even to discuss steps toward equal rights. The courts have delayed in acting on the arrests of some 700 Americans.

American citizens have been jailed under color of law for exercising their constitutional rights. Police brutality is openly reported and easily discovered. Men and women—an expectant mother with a child in her arms—have been beaten. Americans are held in jail for days—one of them for more than a week—without even being arraigned in clear violation of their constitutional right to a speedy trial. Men and women are held in adjacent cells without privacy. A jail cell is crammed with teenagers.

I asked 12-year-old James Moore what he was doing when he was arrested.

He said:

I was praying at city hall.

We have reached a new time in America when we arrest children for praying.

The need for action in Albany has never been more evident. Decency, our belief in America, in the Constitution, in the equality of men, in justice, all demand immediate action. Our stature as a democracy, our position as a leader of the free world require action. The law itself requires action.

The Justice Department, the Interstate Commerce Commission, and this Congress must act.

Yesterday, at the invitation of the Congress of Racial Equality and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, I visited Albany where, in the words of the invitation, "American citizens are being jailed and beaten for exercising their constitutional rights."

Julius W. Hobson, southeastern regional representative of CORE, said in his invitation letter:

We feel it is of the utmost importance that you, as a Member of Congress who is deeply interested in equality for all citizens, visit Albany to get a firsthand picture of the situation. If you can make the trip, we will be most appreciative.

What I saw in Albany should both inspire and frighten every American.

At a mass meeting in the Mount Zion Church last night Negro citizens of Albany overflowed the church to express their desire to continue the battle for their rights. They proclaim that freedom is on the march. Their enthusiasm, their indomitable will in the face of brutality and oppression, and their continued restraint are amazing.

I talked with leaders of the Albany movement, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and CORE in Albany. Reverend King, who is president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Rev. Wyatt Tee Walker, executive director of the leadership conference, Rev. Bernard Lee, special assistant to Reverend Walker, Rev. Ralph D. Abernathy, Rev. Andrew Young, administrator, citizenship education program, leadership conference, Dr. William G. Anderson, and other leaders have shown fantastic demonstration, leadership, and organization. They are ready, as General Grant said about 100 years ago, "to fight it out on this line if it takes all summer."

In his cell—calm, quite, unafraid but heartsick at the brutalities of Albany—Dr. King emphasized over and over that the situation is very tense and that the Albany opponents of civil rights are waging a furious yet highly sophisticated resistance. The city officials simply claim that there is not any segregation in Albany, Ga., although all you have to

PROGRAM FOR THE BALANCE OF THIS WEEK

(Mr. ARENDS asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Mr. ARENDS. Mr. Speaker, I ask for this time in order to inquire of the majority leader concerning the program for the balance of the week.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ARENDS. I yield to the gentleman from Oklahoma.

Mr. ALBERT. The only legislative business left for the balance of the week of which I have any knowledge at this time are some privileged resolutions from the Committee on House Administration. Tomorrow we expect to announce the program for next week and to ask to adjourn over until Monday.

Mr. ARENDS. I thank the gentleman from Oklahoma.

CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK

(Mr. DULSKI asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include an editorial.)

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, the ceremonies attending Captive Nations Week, as proclaimed by the President of the United States and by the mayor of the city of Buffalo, N.Y., were concluded in our city with an appropriate program on Sunday, July 22, 1962.

Our observance was hailed by both the National Committee To Observe Captive Nations Week and the Assembly of Captive European Nations as being one of the most outstanding and effective throughout the country. The events of the week received wide coverage and publicity through our two daily newspapers, and our local radio and television stations.

The evening program, which was held in Buffalo's beautiful Delaware Park at the Albright Knox Art Gallery, commenced with a rendition of "The Star-Spangled Banner."

The Honorable Chester Kowal, mayor of Buffalo, delivered the principal address, which follows:

BUFFALO: CITY OF UNIFIED NEIGHBORS

Mr. Chairman, reverend members of the clergy, officers and members of all the organizations which have worked so hard to make our third annual observance of Captive Nations Week such a grand success, candidates for the crown of Miss Captive Nations, ladies and gentlemen, my fellow Americans, this festival of nations, which it is my privilege to open, will bring to a close our week-long program of events through which the people of our city have registered their concern for and unity with all the people held captive behind the imperial Russian Curtain. With the opening of our observance 1 week ago today, the flags of nine captive nations were mounted at McKinley Monument. There they have flown every day of the week, side by side with the Stars and Stripes, as a moving symbol of the unifying force of freedom—and as a herald of our conviction that the spirit of national independence will triumph over imperial communism. As free people we are committed to that objective. As free people we will do what must be done to win that objective. That is our destiny as a free people and we shall not fail to keep that happy appointment with the future.

Every generation of Americans has been called to rally to the cause of liberty—our most precious heritage. The despoilers of liberty, like the darkness of night, rear their heads in every generation—to challenge man's God-given right to be free. That experience underscores the nature of liberty and reminds us that only those who are prepared to sacrifice for, to fight for, and, if need be, to die for their liberties are able to long enjoy their blessings. This generation of Americans finds no exception to that harsh lesson of history. The challenge we face today pits the forces of human freedom against the forces of organized tyranny in a struggle that allows no escape, no quarter, no weakness, no compromise.

Imperial Russian communism has declared total war against the United States and every other nation on the face of the earth. The leader of this conspiracy has publicly declared that he will "bury us." By this he means to destroy everything that gives life and meaning to our American way of life. He means to replace our free way of life with a system of despotism that feeds on terror and human corruption. That is exactly what the Communists are trying to do in all the captive non-Russian nations—bury them in a sea of despotism.

The cold war in which we are engaged is the twilight zone of the burial conflict. It denies all the traditions of classical warfare. Military power stands at the rear of tactical thrusts by political, economic, diplomatic, and propaganda cadres—all calculated to divide us, to confuse us, to weaken us, to demoralize us, to frighten us, and finally to bury us. It is in this twilight zone that the decision will be made as to which of the two contending forces gets buried—human freedom or imperial Russian communism. That is the nature of the war declared against us.

The question before every American is, What can we do to win this cold war and avoid a hot war?

Our distinguished speaker at the civic luncheon on Wednesday past, the Honorable WILLIAM W. SCRANTON, Congressman from the 10th District of Pennsylvania, offered this wise advice. I quote, "Khrushchev boasts that he will bury us. Every bit of strength we give to the captive nations is a spade of dirt to bury him." We agree with this timely observation. We too believe that the strongest deterrent to a hot war and the best hope for a just and lasting peace arises from the aspirations for freedom and national independence held by the people in all the captive nations.

There are many ways we can strengthen the role of the freedom-loving people in the captive nations. The week-long observance held in Buffalo, through which we give evidence of our unity with them, is but one way. We must keep this spirit alive for the remaining 51 weeks of the year.

The Congress should establish a special Committee on Captive Nations, as called for in pending House Resolution 211. Such a committee would provide undeniable evidence that our concern for the people in the captive nations is a year-round obligation.

We need a Presidential Task Force on Self-Determination, made up of public spirited citizens who are dedicated to the principles of self-government and the independence of nations, large and small. The only lasting peace we can hope for is one that derives its consent from the peoples concerned. This consent by the people cannot be expressed unless they are self-governing. Self-determination, therefore, is a primary condition among the nations of the world before we can have peace worthy of the name. I urge President Kennedy to appoint such a Task Force on Self-Determination at the earliest possible date.

We must learn to make better use of the United Nations, to expose the truth about imperial Russian communism and to espouse the right of all people to self-government. The United Nations is a political forum, no more and no less, and it is time we began to use it to promote the ideals of human freedom.

Our Government should adopt a policy of "Russia for the Russians," just as it has adopted a policy of "Africa for the Africans." In plain English, we should back the slogan of "Ruskies Go Home," which enjoys universal popularity in all the captive nations. Such a policy would assure our proven allies behind the Russian curtain that we had fully awakened to the challenge of the cold war.

In closing I want to thank the members of the Citizens Committee To Observe Captive Nations Week for their outstanding work. A word of special thanks is due the Kiwanis Club for a great civic luncheon. The press, television, and radio have all been most helpful in promoting this worthy cause. Buffalo can take justifiable pride in being the leader in this great movement. What we have done together this week demonstrates that we are the city of good neighbors—yes, we are the city of unified neighbors in freedom's cause.

Thank you.

Miss Olha Shepelavey was crowned as Miss Captive Nations of Buffalo for 1962. A Ukrainian by birth, she was nominated by organizations of that ethnic segment in our community to compete in a field of seven candidates for the title who represented the following captive nations: Croatia, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Macedonia, Poland, and Ukraine.

Miss Zdenka J. Gredel, the Miss Croatia entry, and Miss Sarmite Juberts, Miss Latvia, were designated runners-up.

The Buffalo Civic Orchestra, led by the renowned conductor and violin concertmaster, Jan Pawel Wolanek, provided selective music entitled "Concert of Nations."

On July 15, it was my privilege to deliver the keynote address at the opening of the Captive Nations Week observance in our city. As one who knows of the plight of the people living in satellite countries, it is my every hope that House Resolution 211 will be speedily adopted by Congress so that these people and the world will be made aware of our deep concern for them—not only this week but every week of the year.

Mr. Speaker, during the third annual Captive Nations Week observance in Buffalo, N.Y., my colleague, the gentleman from Pennsylvania, the Honorable WILLIAM W. SCRANTON, was the recipient of the third annual Freedoms Award. Upon the invitation of the Buffalo Kiwanis Club, the gentleman from Pennsylvania, Congressman SCRANTON, addressed the July 18 luncheon meeting, and urged the creation of a Special House Committee on Captive Nations. He said that such an agency is a "strong arm which is not being used in the ideological war against communism."

The gentleman from Pennsylvania, Congressman SCRANTON, a charter member of the National Captive Nations Committee, said Americans are not doing nearly enough to combat Russian propaganda.

do to learn the truth is walk down any street.

The fact is that the situation in Albany may explode into violence.

The situation has been developing for many months. The conflicts began shortly after the Interstate Commerce Commission's new regulations banning segregation in interstate transportation terminals went into effect. Since then Negroes have been fighting for civil rights—the right to get a soft drink in a public restaurant, the right to use an unsegregated interstate bus facility, the right to use the public library, the right to send their children to an integrated school. The city commission has refused even to talk with Negro leaders.

Yesterday about 40 Negroes were arrested in prayer demonstrations at city hall and the public library. About 300 people have been jailed since July 10. Because the Albany jail is overflowing, prisoners have been taken to jails in other cities—Camilla, Americus, Newton.

Conditions in the Albany jail are intolerable. The cells are packed. Women are in cells adjacent to men without privacy. In one cell I found 12 teenagers. Three men were jammed in another cell that measures 7 feet long, 7 feet wide and 7 feet high. They had not been permitted to make any outgoing telephone calls. No hearing date had been set for them. They had not been arraigned before a judge. One of them was Marvin Rich, of New York, field coordinator of CORE. Another was Floyd Gardner. He had been held in clear violation of his constitutional rights for 8 days.

Nearby, William Hansen was suffering in a cell, his broken jaw stitched and wired. When he was arrested, the police threw him in with drunks, announced he was one of the freedom riders, and a prompt beating followed.

I was told how Mrs. Marion King, the expectant wife of Slater King, one of the leaders of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, as she carried her 3-year-old baby in her arms, was knocked down and kicked by two police officers at the Camilla jail.

The press has reported how C. B. King, Esq., an attorney, was viciously caned by D. C. Campbell, the sheriff of Dougherty County who is theoretically in office to enforce the laws of the land.

Despite the persecution and brutality, the Albany movement, founded and led by Dr. William G. Anderson, will continue the fight for civil rights, for the movement and its aims are embedded in the deepest needs and rights of the Negro people of Albany. A few days ago the Albany movement issued this declaration:

> There is no truce and we band ourselves together to do whatever must be done to deliver the death knell once and for all to the system of segregation in the city of Albany, Ga., with the earnest hope that the example we set here shall spread across the South.

Mr. Speaker, I include the text of the Albany manifesto at this point in the RECORD.

ALBANY MANIFESTO

The Albany movement totally rejects the response of the city of Albany toward its requests as transmitted through Chief of Police Laurie Pritchett. We have discovered over the last 6 months that it is the intention of the city fathers to maintain the system of segregation throughout the community regardless of the constitutional rights and just demands of the Negro community.

We have learned through bitter experiences that Chief Pritchett has not the power to keep or make the decisions for which he is purportedly responsible. We submit a long history of doubletalk, unkept promises, subtle intimidation and lack of integrity as it relates to the just resolution of our grievances against the system of segregation as it exists in our city.

Whereas we insist it is our right under the Constitution and the Bill of Rights to peacefully protest our grievances, and whereas no Negro can exercise that right without provoking arrest and conviction, be it therefore resolved that we shall never bargain away our first amendment privilege to so peacefully protest; and

Whereas there remain more than 700 cases presently pending on the docket of the recorder's court since December of last year which have not yet been adjudicated, we demand under the 6th amendment as interpreted through the 14th amendment be granted a fair and speedy trial at once or be summarily discharged from prosecution; and

Whereas there continues only intermittent compliance with the ICC ruling which became effective as of November 1, 1961 at the city bus terminal, we do further resolve that we petition the Attorney General of the United States to initiate immediately a suit pursuant to Federal Court injunctive order to restrain public officials or private interest from interference with the use of all such facilities; and

Whereas desegregation is the order of the day and with the support of the Constitution, the Supreme Court of the United States, the climate of world opinion, the moral order and the laws of God, we resolve to address all of our energies to the removal of every vestige of segregation from our midst; and

Whereas Christian nonviolence has demonstrated its power in application, technique, and discipline, we resolve that the instruments with which we work shall be those alone consistent with nonviolent principles; and

Whereas the inspiration and support afforded to the Albany Movement by Dr. Martin Luther King, Dr. Ralph D. Abernathy, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and other individuals and organizations similarly dedicated, we do resolve to make it clear, publicly and privately that they are here by invitation and we heartily welcome their presence; and

Whereas in some quarters of the community, State, and Nation there are spurious reports of a truce, we do resolve for all to know that there is no truce and we band ourselves together to do whatever must be done to deliver the death knell once and for all to the system of segregation in the city of Albany, Ga., with the earnest hope that the example we set here shall spread across the South.

Mr. Speaker, the time for action is now. If the situation is allowed to drift and deteriorate, we may well have, as Dr. King warns, another Little Rock.

There are immediate steps which the executive branch may take.

The FBI has been investigating well-reported instances of police brutality. Even the names of police officers are known. But as Dr. King asked in his jail cell, how much investigating is necessary before the Department of Justice can seek indictments before a Federal grand jury?

From my observations I believe that what has happened in Albany warrants immediate action by the Justice Department under sections 241 and 242 of title 18 of the United States Code.

Section 241 provides that it is a criminal offense for two or more persons to conspire "to injure, oppress, threaten, or intimidate any citizen in the free exercise or enjoyment of any rights or privilege secured to him by the Constitution or laws of the United States, or because of his having so exercised the same."

Section 242 provides that it is a criminal offense for anyone "under color of any law, statute, ordinance, regulation, or custom," to willfully subject "any inhabitant of any State, territory, or district to the deprivation of any rights, privileges, or immunities secured or protected by the Constitution or laws of the United States."

I also believe that the situation in Albany warrants immediate action by the Interstate Commerce Commission to enforce its regulations banning segregation in interstate bus facilities. That is what the regulations are for—to be enforced. That is why I testified for them before the ICC last year. Presumably, that is why the ICC adopted the regulations—to enforce them.

Under the regulations the ICC can issue an order to the interstate carriers ordering them to cease and desist from using the bus station in Albany. In addition, the ICC can bring civil and criminal suits against an interstate carrier if the carrier violates these regulations.

The Albany situation, like other civil rights conflicts, also makes more evident the need for real civil rights legislation. I believe that passage of H.R. 7143, to make the Civil Rights Commission permanent and give it real power, would go a long way toward really guaranteeing civil rights to all Americans. If the bill had been enacted, the Civil Rights Commission would be working effectively in Albany, Ga., right now.

If we are to avoid another Little Rock, another major civil rights tragedy, the Justice Department must act now to enforce the law. The Interstate Commerce Commission must act now to enforce its regulations. And I believe that we in Congress must look toward passage of real civil rights legislation.

Democracy is on trial in Albany, Ga., and I call upon the Government and Congress to come to its defense.

Mr. HECHLER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RYAN of New York. I yield to the gentleman from West Virginia.

Mr. HECHLER. I should like to observe that the President at his news conference said:

> The United States is willing to sit down in Geneva to try to settle great international issues with Russia and other countries, and the leaders of the Albany government ought to be willing to sit down with Negroes demanding fuller rights.

Mr. RYAN of New York. I thank the gentleman for his contribution, and I

agree it is past time that the officials sat down with the leaders of the Albany movement.

Mr. STRATTON. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RYAN of New York. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. STRATTON. I want to join with my colleague, the gentleman from New York [Mr. RYAN] in his appeal for action to end the disgraceful situation which confronts this Nation and the world in Albany, Ga., today. I want to commend the gentleman from New York for the fight he is making. I want to commend him for taking time today to bring this message to the House. I am sorry there are not more Members here to hear it, because there is no message, it seems to me, that could be of greater bearing to our Nation and the future of our Nation than the report he is giving of the situation that apparently exists in Albany, Ga., in this home of democracy and this land of the free.

Mr. Speaker, I would certainly agree with the gentleman from New York that action must be taken. Certainly, we would hope that this problem in Georgia could be settled by men of good will sitting down across the table with one another. But, I think what has happened today has made it perfectly clear, particularly when the events the gentleman from New York just referred to are occurring in Georgia—has made it perfectly clear that this kind of good will does not exist there and, apparently, will not exist for some time. I think in this instance we have to look for leadership from the Government of the United States. I fear it is time that we have some leadership both from the executive branch of the Government and from the Congress of the United States. I feel that we in the United States certainly cannot pose as champions of democracy when these situations exist as they do exist in Albany, Ga., and elsewhere in our Nation.

Mr. Speaker, I want to commend the gentleman from New York and join with him in the fight he is making.

Mr. RYAN of New York. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for his very pertinent observations on this critical situation.

Mr. HOFFMAN of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RYAN of New York. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. HOFFMAN of Illinois. And would you also add there an item that in Washington, D.C., white girls be free to go to their church and pray and be free to walk down the streets of Washington?

Mr. RYAN of New York. I do not quite see the relevance of the gentleman's statement.

Mr. HOFFMAN of Illinois. You have talked about colored people walking down the street.

Mr. RYAN of New York. I cannot yield further to the gentleman. I am sorry.

Mr. STRATTON. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RYAN of New York. I yield.

Mr. STRATTON. I would like to add just a word to what the gentleman from New York has said in connection with the situation that exists at Albany, Ga. I was somewhat disturbed to read in the press this morning that apparently one of the reasons for the unwillingness of some of the merchants and leading businessmen in Albany to sit down and work out some peaceful solution of this problem stems from the reported fact that they are doing so well economically that they do not feel that they need to make these concessions. The reason, of course, for their economic prosperity, as I understand, is very largely due to the expenditure of substantial sums in connection with the U.S. defense program. I would certainly feel that there ought to be some way in addition to some of the suggestions the gentleman has made that the prestige and power of the U.S. Government could be brought to bear in this situation through this indirect method of defense contributions to this particular area.

If our defense funds are creating a situation which impedes the adoption of true democracy rather than the reverse, then this is a very serious development indeed, and I think it ought to be carefully looked into by members of the Defense Department.

Mr. RYAN of New York. The gentleman's suggestion is a good one.

Mr. FORRESTER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RYAN of New York. I yield to the gentleman from Georgia.

Mr. FORRESTER. Did the gentleman make his trip down to Albany, Ga., at his own instance or at the instance of some organization or person?

Mr. RYAN of New York. I said earlier in my remarks I was invited by the Congress of Racial Equality and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference to see at firsthand the situation in the city of Albany, Ga.

Mr. FORRESTER. The gentleman did go to Albany, as a matter of fact, did he not?

Mr. RYAN of New York. That is correct.

Mr. FORRESTER. Tell the membership of this House how you were treated down there.

Mr. RYAN of New York. I certainly was treated at all times with respect. I was permitted to see the prisoners. I did see the prisoners and reported on my findings.

Mr. FORRESTER. As a matter of fact, the gentleman knew that those people were so cultured and so patient down there that they were tolerating a trespasser, is that not true?

Mr. RYAN of New York. I will not concede I was a trespasser. I was there as a representative of the people of my district who are deeply concerned with this situation, people who have been outraged by developing conditions.

Mr. FORRESTER. Let me ask the gentleman this question: Is the gentleman concerned about the civil rights of white folks?

Mr. RYAN of New York. I do not think there is anything in what I have said or anything in any of the bills I have introduced that distinguishes the civil rights of one individual as opposed to another. I think it is important in this country, and I think the gentleman will agree, that all citizens be treated equally because they are equal under the Constitution and the laws.

Mr. FORRESTER. Let me say to the gentleman in my familiarity with his record and the legislation he has introduced, there has never been anything that was for the benefit of the white race. Has the gentleman taken any step whatsoever in reference to the fine white woman who was stabbed within a block and a half of this Capitol 2 weeks ago?

Mr. RYAN of New York. I do not think it makes any difference what the color of the woman was.

Mr. FORRESTER. The gentleman did not do anything about that?

Mr. RYAN of New York. If an act of violence takes place, it certainly is a matter which should concern all of us.

Mr. FORRESTER. Let me ask the gentleman, Is he acquainted with the courts down in Georgia?

Mr. RYAN of New York. I am acquainted with the judicial system of the United States, and I am acquainted with the Constitution of the United States. I feel that people who have been jailed and incarcerated are entitled to prompt arraignments, speedy trials, and disposition of their cases. According to all reports, that has not been the case.

Mr. FORRESTER. Let me ask the gentleman, Is he attorney for those people? Do you know whether arraignment has been denied to them—has been demanded and has been denied?

Mr. RYAN of New York. I do not believe responsible citizens told me something that was not true.

Mr. FORRESTER. I am asking the gentleman, do you know? I am not asking what he was told. The gentleman is a lawyer.

Mr. RYAN of New York. I am reporting to you and to this House that there are American citizens languishing in that jail in Albany who have not been arraigned, whose cases have not been heard. One person I spoke with last night had been in that jail for 8 days and had not been permitted to make a telephone call. He has not been brought before a magistrate or a justice of the peace.

Mr. FORRESTER. This is a terrible crime?

Mr. RYAN of New York. I believe it is.

Mr. FORRESTER. That he cannot get a telephone at some opportune time when he wants it?

Mr. RYAN of New York. I believe to incarcerate an individual for exercising his rights, demonstrating peaceably, and to deny him the elementary right to contacts with the outside world is a crime.

Mr. FORRESTER. Let me ask the gentleman this. Has the gentleman ever been in Albany, Ga., before?

Mr. RYAN of New York. This was the first occasion.

Mr. FORRESTER. How long was the gentleman there?

Mr. RYAN of New York. I was there between 6 and 8 hours.

Mr. FORRESTER. The gentleman really had a lot of time in which to find out something about the truth, did not the gentleman?

Mr. RYAN of New York. I certainly did. The facts are so evident that in a lot less time than that one could become very familiar with the outrageous situation.

Mr. FORRESTER. Does the gentleman say that the courts down in Georgia do not function and does the gentleman want to tell me that those people are remedyless and cannot get into court?

Mr. RYAN of New York. A person under arrest should have an elementary right to a prompt arraignment in order to know the charges and to a hearing and to have a trial date set.

Mr. FORRESTER. In other words, the gentleman went down there simply because he understood some people were in jail and he wanted to see that their rights for arraignment were enforced? Is that what the gentleman went down there for?

Mr. RYAN of New York. Not at all. I think the whole world has a right to know about the denial of civil rights of American citizens. Civil liberties are being flagrantly abused. I think this is something that should be known.

Mr. FORRESTER. Let me ask the gentleman this, and I want the gentleman from New York to listen to me, now. Is the gentleman familiar with the war record of the people down in the State of Georgia and at Albany, Ga., in particular in World War II, Korea, and so forth? Is the gentleman familiar with those records?

Mr. RYAN of New York. I think that we have a right to be proud of the war record of every American who wore a uniform honorably in the service of his country, whether he comes from Albany, Ga., or Albany, N.Y.

Mr. FORRESTER. But have not the people in Albany, Ga., one of the finest records for patriotism in this country?

Mr. RYAN of New York. I do not think patriotism is the issue before us. I have not made it an issue. I think there are patriotic Americans in every city, hamlet, village, and every crossroads in this country, or we would not have the strength which we have today. I think many who served in the Armed Forces and who fought and lived side by side with men of different backgrounds and origins returned with a better understanding of what human values and relationships should be.

Mr. STRATTON. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield.

Mr. RYAN of New York. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. STRATTON. Would not the gentleman agree—while we all recognize the contribution of Albany, Ga., and many other sections of our country, both North and South, to the prosecution of the great war—that today we are engaged in another war? This is an ideological war, a war to determine whether we in this country really mean what we say when we talk about democracy and civil rights, or whether they are going to put our record as against our protestations up against the alluring propaganda of communism. Would not the gentleman agree with me, as well as the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. FORRESTER] that today the job we have to do is to demonstrate in Albany, Ga., and in Schenectady, N.Y., and in New York City when we say that men are equal we mean it, and if a man or a woman cannot get a Coca-Cola in a restaurant or a drugstore or a seat on a bus, this is a situation that demonstrates that we in America have not won the fight for the democracy that we profess? This problem has been faced, and faced successfully, in Alabama and in other areas of our country.

I think the point that the gentleman from New York is making, if I may say to my good friend, the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. FORRESTER] is that what we have got to do is to use the prestige of this Federal Government if we cannot get peaceful cooperation from the local authorities to see that men and women, regardless of their color, are afforded simple, ordinary, equal rights in any section of our Nation.

Mr. RYAN of New York. I think the gentleman is correct. As I said earlier, democracy is literally on trial at that city in the State of Georgia.

Mr. FORRESTER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RYAN of New York. I yield to the gentleman from Georgia.

Mr. FORRESTER. I say that the gentleman does not want to talk about war records, because we have the greatest war records in that section of the country than any place in the country. If the gentleman has one, the gentleman cannot deny it. It is a fact, and it is just a little disturbing to me to hear a Member of this Congress get up on the floor of the House and advocate that there be taken away from a certain section of this country military installations which go right down to the very heart of the protection of this country and what it stands for.

Mr. RYAN of New York. I think what was advocated was that every branch of the Federal Government use all the powers at its disposal to see that the rights of all citizens are protected. And I say this as a combat veteran who spent considerable time in the South Pacific during World War II.

Mr. FLYNT. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RYAN of New York. I yield to the gentleman from Georgia.

Mr. FLYNT. Mr. Speaker, I regret very much that the gentleman has taken this time to make an attack upon the very fine people of a very fine city in the State in which I have the honor to represent. I know these people down there. I know the chief of police, who I think everyone who has followed this will agree is one of the outstanding law-enforcement officials not only of our part of the country but of the entire United States. He is recognized as a man who has kept his head, who has done his sworn duty to preserve law and order as best he can in a city which is torn with strife and is in turmoil through no fault of the people who live there.

I regret also most sincerely that the gentleman from New York saw fit to describe himself as an expert on a city which by his own statement he visited for a matter of 6 to 8 hours. I know that in my own place I would not attempt to make a flying-squadron-type trip into his great city and State of New York and set myself up as a judge, a prosecutor, and a jury to pass upon the merits of a case about which I knew as little as I could know if I had no more than 6 to 8 hours in which to study it.

I do not know that some of the statements the gentleman has made are misleading. I know the gentleman did not intend them to be misleading, but from what I know of the law-enforcement officials, the honorable and distinguished mayor, Asa D. Kelly, Jr., mayor of the city of Albany, they were misleading although I am sure unwittingly so, on the part of the gentleman from New York. Some of the allegations and charges which we have heard here today do not conform entirely to the facts as they exist. I do not question and I would not question the right of the gentleman or any Member of this body to make any statement that he saw fit to make, but I could not sit idly by and fail to call attention of the membership of this House to the fact that there have been, certainly, misleading statements which have been made, and I regret very much the gentleman saw fit to make this attack upon my State.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from New York [Mr. RYAN] has expired.

(Mr. RYAN of New York asked and was given permission to proceed for 1 additional minute.)

Mr. RYAN of New York. Mr. Speaker, in reply to the gentleman, I can only say that I have reported the facts and circumstances as I found them.

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RYAN of New York. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Can my colleague from Georgia tell me whether or not it is true, as the gentleman from New York has reported, that people have been incarcerated for a period of 7 or 8 days without being arraigned?

Mr. FLYNT. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield to me to make a reply?

Mr. RYAN of New York. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. FLYNT. From what I know of the law-enforcement establishment on the level of the U.S. District Court for the Middle District of Georgia; from what I know of the superior court and the court of Dougherty County, the city court and the recorder's court of the city of Albany, I am quite certain that if application for a bond had been made that application would have been granted. I am certain—of course, I have not been down there during the last few days—but I am certain that the laws of the State of Georgia and the laws of the United States of America are enforced as well in the city of Albany, Ga., as they

are in any place north, south, east, or west.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from New York [Mr. RYAN] has again expired.

THE EDUCATION OF MIGRANT CHILDREN

(Mr. OLSEN (at the request of Mr. EDMONDSON) was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.)

Mr. OLSEN. Mr. Speaker, for many years there has been a growing concern in our Nation concerning the lack of educational opportunities for the children of agricultural migrant workers. It has long been the accepted and traditional philosophy in American education that every child shall have an equal opportunity for education commensurate with his interests and abilities. The concept of this great American dream, which is the inherent right and hope of every child, should not be denied to thousands of migratory children. And yet, studies have shown that the school achievement of these children is usually below the fourth grade level. Reports from several States indicated that more than half of the migrant children are retarded 1 to 4 years.

While there has been increased publicity, an awakened interest, and commendable efforts made for the improvement of educational opportunities for the disadvantaged children of migrant agricultural workers in our Nation, much still remains to be done.

It is difficult for us who are interested in all the children in our Nation to realize that a particular group of American children are still being denied the opportunity to receive the bare minimum of education necessary to participate effectively in our society today.

Migrant children enter school late, their attendance is poor, their progress is slow, they drop out early; consequently, their rate of illiteracy is high.

The 1960 census reports indicated that approximately 8 percent of our population age 25 or over are defined as functionally illiterate; that is, they have received less than a fifth-grade education. The agricultural migrants make up a significant part of this pool of illiterates. Many of the unemployed migrants are moving into the slums of our large cities where they are swelling the relief and welfare rolls. Because of lack of education, they are unprepared for urban jobs. They are part of this group which Dr. James B. Conant described as "social dynamite."

Most migrant children are retarded in school because of migrancy itself and all its related socioeconomic disadvantages—poverty, ill health, inadequate housing, lack of proper food and clothing, lack of attitude and education of parents, lack of health and welfare services, and insufficient funds of some school districts to provide school facilities for migrant children.

Studies have shown that many of these migrant children leave their home-base States in the South in April and do not attend school during the time they are on the trip North, or until they arrive back at the home base in late October.

It is estimated that migrant workers are concentrated in 31 States which employ 4,000 or more domestic migrants each year. School authorities are often perplexed by seasonal impacts of large groups of migratory children who enter their school districts late, and who should be enrolled in their schools. With overstrained school budgets it has been difficult to provide classrooms, teachers, desks, and other instructional materials. Because the number of migrant children who enter their communities varies from year to year, it is difficult for school officials to anticipate the additional burden that will be placed on their school budgets. Lack of financial support to enable school districts to provide for migrant children often makes them an unacceptable burden. The community is not always ready to accept these children and to assume the cost of increased school facilities for migrants who may only be in the community for a short period of time.

In a recent survey made by the U.S. Office of Education of seven States concerning the State programs for the education of migrant children, it was reported that in some States 50 percent of the migrant children who lived in the State during the time school was in session were not enrolled in school.

One of the recommended solutions to improve the educational program for migrant children is to organize small classes at the beginning of the school year so that the children can be integrated in the regular school program when they arrive. This, however, becomes a financial burden on the school districts.

When migrant children do not bring records from previous schools attended, it becomes a problem for the teacher to determine the level of academic achievement of each child and the grade in which he should be placed. It is recommended that there be interschool and interstate agreements on the necessary information to be supplied and on the methods of sending school transfer records from school to school.

There is a need for further research and planning in many areas of education for migrant children including the development of interschool and interstate agreements; improved curriculums to meet the needs of these children; development of short units of study, aptitude, achievement, and intelligence tests for Spanish-speaking children; and other similar studies.

While several States have made excellent progress in their educational programs for migratory children, it is impossible for a few States to solve this problem alone. These children must have an opportunity for education in each community and State they enter or they become retarded, confused, and frustrated. Retardation is one of the major causes for school dropouts. For example, it is difficult to expect a 16-year-old boy to enter the fourth grade.

There is definite need for a sound and continuous program of education in each community through which these children travel, if we are going to provide them with an equal opportunity for education.

As the States are responsible for the free, public education of all school age children, this legislation is intended to assist the States to improve their programs for the education of migrant children. Recent studies have shown that there is a need for planning at the State level. The problems concerning the organization and administration of educational opportunities for migratory children have been recognized by several States which have enacted necessary legislation to assist these children. The States of California, Colorado, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Oregon, and Pennsylvania provide financial assistance to school districts for the operation of summer schools.

Many local school districts are still faced with the problems of providing school housing, textbooks, instructional materials; and avoiding overcrowded classrooms and half-day sessions. The lack of educational opportunities for migrant children has many social and economic implications which should be the concern of all local, State, and Federal agencies of our Government, as well as the concern of every American citizen. Reports indicate that the quality and quantity of schooling received by these children is far below the national standards as compared to that received by other children. This condition is a serious indictment against our society and our national program of education in America.

Because migrant parents have very little, if any, education, they very often do not understand the importance of an education for their children. Because their wages are insufficient to provide the bare necessities of life for themselves and their children, they need the income of their children to help sustain the family. They fail to understand the educational requirements needed in our modern society. Many migrants do not make any effort to enroll their children in school. They have very little knowledge of health, welfare, safety, nutrition, and citizenship. Studies have shown that parents who have attended school have a greater tendency to want their children to receive an education.

If there ever was a cause or a reason for Federal funds for education, it is for a program of education of children of agricultural migrant workers. The problem of agricultural migratory workers is interstate in nature, involving the transportation of human beings across State boundary lines to live and work in other communities. The principle of State and Federal support is reasonable and just when one school district must provide educational facilities for children from other school districts and States.

The money which will be made available under Senate bill 1124 would enable States to obtain much-needed information about migrants which could be shared by other States as a basis for planning better school programs.

Senate bill would provide Federal assistance, as follows:

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1341 Connecticut Avenue, N.W.
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December 27, 1963

ADA VOTING RECORD
88th CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION

In a session marked by the deepest tragedy, indifference and irresponsibility characterized the 88th Congress, First Session. Only legislation authorizing funds for Federal aid to higher education saved this Congress from total bankruptcy in domestic legislation. President Kennedy's eloquence and drive, President Johnson's skill and determination, were unable to move the iceberg on Capitol Hill. Congress obstructed the nation and the Executive and Judicial branches of government which sought to move this nation forward.

To President Kennedy's memory, to President Johnson's sense of immediacy, to the nation's widespread cry for "freedom now", the Congress and House leadership of both parties responded with a low priority for passing civil rights legislation. To the unemployed and impoverished the Congress responded as if it were a Scrooge--niggardly and miserly.

Senate approval of the Limited Nuclear Test Ban Treaty--President Kennedy's greatest foreign policy achievement along with the October 1962 Cuban confrontation, each a tribute in its own way to his life of intelligence, reason and responsibility--was the one accomplishment in foreign affairs. It placed this nation firmly in support of rational efforts to control man's destructive powers. But if the Senate is capable of approving this significant step, the Congress hurt the cause of peace by slashing the funds of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. Moreover, both Houses met the challenge of rapid social change in the developing countries with blinders. Foreign aid remains Congress' whipping boy and the congressional knife cut deeper this year than ever before.

To the disenfranchised and discriminated against Negro the Congress shrugged and said wait till next year. Only the strong efforts behind the discharge petition, led by the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, moved Rules Committee Chairman Smith to start civil rights hearings on January 9th--nearly two months after the House Judiciary Committee first requested a rule. But the petition's total effort was blunted since the House Democratic leadership--Speaker McCormack, Majority Leader Albert, Majority Whip Boggs--refused to sign it. Thus Judge Smith remains in a position to drag out the hearings and further delay House consideration of civil rights.

To the unemployed, the poor, the uneducated, the Congress says this nation cannot afford progress. All this country can afford, it says, is a tax cut, but it conveniently forgets that a tax cut helps only those who are already employed.

Necessary public investment measures for public elementary and secondary education, housing and urban development, welfare and health care were not even considered by the Congress. At the year's end high unemployment continues unabated; educational squalor increases; urban blight spreads; relief rolls swell; health problems go untended. The major needs in our society stay neglected.

The 88th Congress started with a net gain of two Senate liberals. The effects of reapportionment and primary election defeats of two Southern conservatives resulted in a small liberal increase in the House although the Democrats lost four seats. Nevertheless, the events of this Congress were predictable soon after the session began. The Senate and House Democratic leadership, led respectively by Majority Leader Mansfield and Speaker McCormack, failed in two major respects: They refused to support necessary rules changes; they refused to use committee assignments effectively to chip away at the power of the reactionary-conservative establishment that runs Congress. Both Mansfield and McCormack surrendered on the fight for genuine rules reform. This surrender further weakened their ability to limit the power of the establishment. The refusal to make even the semblance of a fight necessarily helped the governmental process break down and allowed obstructionist committee and subcommittee chairmen to exercise their destructive negative powers to the nth degree.

And as the session wore on the prediction in the October 1962 ADA WORLD became all too real: "The Congress is so bound by an ever-tightening rack of seniority governing chairmanships and committee assignments, as well as by archaic rules of procedure, that this pattern is not likely to be broken by the switch of a few seats in the coming 88th Congress."

S E N A T E

A. Senate Rules

The bi-partisan effort to modify the Senate filibuster rule was the Senate's principal civil rights fight. Under the leadership of Majority Whip Humphrey (D-Minn.) and Minority Whip Kuchel (R-Calif.), liberals concentrated on the right of a majority at the start of a new Congress to decide its own rules.

The liberals used the constitutional authority (Article I, Section 5), "Each House may determine the rules of its proceedings" for support. Senator Anderson (D-N.Mex.) moved that the Chair should submit Anderson's filibuster modification, providing for three-fifths of those present and voting to end debate, to the Senate for a vote. President Johnson, when he was Vice President, in his capacity as

President of the Senate, ruled that since Anderson's motion was a constitutional question it could only be decided by the Senate after debate and filibuster. Johnson, by his refusal to rule, passed the decision on to the Senate for such debate and filibuster.

The question Johnson put to the Senate was whether it could close debate at the beginning of a new Congress in order to vote on a rules change. Majority Leader Mansfield and Minority Leader Dirksen urged their colleagues to table the question. A majority of the Senate then voted to table. The Senate's action guaranteed a filibuster in changing the rules.

Mansfield's vote to table the question directly opposed the 1960 Democratic Platform. That Platform specifically called for an improvement in the Senate's procedure to enable majority rule to prevail. Mansfield's support of the position advocated by Southern racists in the Democratic Party therefore set up an insurmountable obstacle to rules change.

The only parliamentary device left to the supporters of filibuster modification was to end the filibuster, and that requires two-thirds of those Senators present and voting to terminate debate. Although terminating debate was not successful, those supporting a rules change demonstrated that a majority of the Senate supported modifying the filibuster rule. Again, under the leadership of Senators Humphrey and Kuchel, 51 Senators signed a petition stating that they supported a rules change to end debate "by the affirmative vote of a lesser number of the Senators present and voting than the present requirement of two-thirds." More important, 54 Senators voted to end the filibuster on the rules change. For the first time a majority of the Senate evidenced support for modifying Rule 22, but its will was frustrated by the Senate's action on the tabling motion.

B. Senate Democratic Caucus

The fight over Rule 22 had after-effects that offer an insight into the Senate's operation, including the important assignment of committee seats. Twenty-two non-freshman Senators sought changes in their committee assignments. Of the eight Senators who had voted against ending the filibuster on Rule 22, seven received their first choice, and the eighth received nothing. Of the fourteen Senators who voted to end the filibuster, only five received their committee choice. Moreover, only one received his first choice, and that was Senator Mansfield. (The Majority Leader traditionally receives his first choice of committee assignment.) Three received their second choice, and one received his third choice. Nine received nothing!

The real power on committee assignments is held by the Democratic Steering Committee, which itself is elected by all Democratic members of the Senate meeting in a caucus. The Committee includes nine conservatives and six liberals. The South which has seven members is over represented. All other areas are under represented or misrepresented. The conservatives are assured control of the Steering Committee since two of the three Western Senators are conservatives, although a majority of the Western Democratic Senators are liberal.

To break conservative control of the Committee, Senator Clark (D-Pa.) and Senator Anderson (D-N.Mex.) moved to increase the Steering Committee's size. Clark and Anderson wanted to make it more representative of the Democratic Senate membership. If successful, the Steering Committee would at last reflect the liberal majority in the Senate Democratic Party. Majority Leader Mansfield led the fight in the Democratic Caucus against an increase in the Democratic Steering Committee. Once again Mansfield exercised leadership to maintain the power of the Dixiecrat-conservative Republican coalition.

The Democratic Steering Committee used its power to retain conservative control of key committees by denying senior liberal Senators committee assignments of their choice. Senator Clark unlocked the secrecy surrounding the Steering Committee and launched his famous attack on the Senate Establishment in February 1963. Certainly the non-productiveness of this session has proved the accuracy of Clark's charges. Two examples will suffice.

The Senate Judiciary Committee, chaired by Senator Eastland (D-Miss.), heard only one witness on civil rights legislation, Attorney General Kennedy. And he was met by a filibustering interrogator, Senator Ervin (D-N.C.). Indeed, the four senior Democrats on the Judiciary Committee are all anti-civil rights, assuring permanent inaction on civil rights in that Committee.

The Senate Finance Committee, chaired by Senator Byrd (D-Va.), refused to begin hearings on the tax bill until the House had disposed of the bill. In March 1963, Senator Douglas (D-Ill.) moved for the Finance Committee to begin hearings on the tax bill. He was supported only by Senators Anderson (D-N.Mex.) and Hartke (D-Ind.). Once the hearings began, Douglas moved to terminate them at an early date. He added only Senator Fulbright (D-Ark.) to his previous supporters for early action on the tax bill. Liberal Senators McCarthy (D-Minn.) and Ribicoff (D-Conn.) failed to support Douglas in both instances.

Such inaction was designed to guarantee delay in consideration and postpone a vote on the tax measure. Indeed the wily Senator Byrd may well be prepared to

bring the tax bill to the Senate floor just before the House completes passage of the civil rights bill. If the Senate leadership falls into Byrd's trap, and permits Senate consideration of tax legislation before civil rights, they are likely to face a Southern filibuster on the tax bill as well.

HOUSE

A. House Rules

The need for rules reform in the House is irrefutable. The Rules Committee not only obstructs civil rights legislation but prevents the House from voting on other important legislation: economic aid to distressed areas, aid for mass transit facilities and services, funds to decrease youth unemployment. If past is prologue, aid to public elementary and secondary education will not pass the House Rules Committee barrier.

The principal rules reform to achieve in the House is the 21-day rule. The 21-day rule permits Committee Chairmen to call up legislation already reported by their legislative committees after the Rules Committee has had 21 days in which to report the legislation to the floor and has not done so.

The importance of the 21-day rule for civil rights is obvious. Either Rules Committee Chairman Smith would have had to grant a rule in 21 days or Judiciary Committee Chairman Celler would have brought civil rights legislation to the House floor for consideration. Civil rights legislation would have been approved in the House before this session had ended.

The 21-day rule increases the likelihood that House members will vote on major legislation approved by the appropriate committee, and this speeds the legislative process. It is a necessary countervailing power to a tyrannical Rules Committee Chairman. Speaker McCormack's failure to support the 21-day rule has resulted in the leadership's general acquiescence to Judge Smith's power.

B. House Democratic Caucus

The leadership continues to follow old patterns and supports no moves to weaken the establishment's powers. At the beginning of the session the Democratic caucus had to fill a vacancy on the Ways and Means Committee. This Committee has two major functions: revenue matters (taxes, tariff, social security legislation) originate in Ways and Means; it assigns Democrats to their committees. The House leadership supported a Southern opponent of "medicare" for a Ways and Means Committee vacancy in return for the Georgia delegation's support for enlarging the Rules Committee, although his election would have increased the majority of the opposition

in Committee to "medicare." (As ADA predicted in January 1963, merely enlarging the Rules Committee proved to be a "political pillow fight." To increase its margin of victory, the leadership was willing to further undermine the chances for "medicare.") A strange coalition of Democratic liberals and Dixiecrats opposed the choice and elected a Southern moderate and supporter of "medicare." The politics of luck is not repeated twice.

In the House, the Appropriations, Rules, and Ways and Means Committees are the most powerful. The Republican leadership makes sure that it places conservatives on these committees. Of the 35 Republicans on these three committees, only one is a Republican liberal. Of the 20 Republicans on the Appropriations Committee, 10 had a liberal quotient of zero and five had a liberal quotient of 10% or less. The other liberal quotients ranged between 17% and 25% excepting the one Republican liberal. On the Rules Committee, all five Republicans had a liberal quotient of less than 10% and three had a zero. On the Ways and Means Committee, eight of the 10 Republicans had a liberal quotient of less than 10% and four of these eight had a zero.

The average liberal quotient for all Republican members is 16%. On these three committees, the majority of the Republicans had a liberal quotient that is less than the entire Republican House average.

The Democratic leadership, unlike the Republican leadership, does not organize the Appropriations, Rules, and Ways and Means Committees to reflect the majority liberal interest in the Democratic Party. On the Appropriations Committee, eight Democrats, including the Chairman, have substantially less than the average liberal quotient in the House Democratic Party of 72%. On the Rules Committee, the two

senior Democrats join with Republican Rules Committee members on most issues to effectively maintain the power of the Dixiecrat-conservative Republican coalition. On the Ways and Means Committee, the more conservative Democrats, including the Chairman, hold the balance of power. This group has joined with the Republicans on the Ways and Means Committee to block liberal legislation such as "medicare."

The failure of the Democrats to begin structuring Congress to provide for a liberal majority on the Appropriations, Rules, and Ways and Means Committees is the House leadership's failure. It is this failure that feeds the power of the Dixiecrat-conservative Republican coalition.

CIVIL RIGHTS

In this session the House was the principal battleground for civil rights legislation. The major legislative fight to date over substantive provisions in the civil rights bill necessarily occurred in the House Judiciary Committee. The united efforts of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights at this point in the legislative process resulted in further increasing the comprehensiveness of President Kennedy's revised civil rights recommendations.

Civil rights legislation, bogged down in the Rules Committee, required a discharge petition to move Judge Smith to begin his January 9th hearings. The date for terminating the hearings has not been set. Although Smith said he opposes "dilatory tactics", his definition of dilatory tactics does not accord with that of reasonable men. Smith will use his power to delay legislation as long as the Congress and House leadership of both parties permit him. The Smith tactic is clear: the longer the House delays civil rights legislation the greater the chances are for a private deal for action in the House to drop one of the Judiciary Committee provisions, e.g., FEPC or for the Southerners to win additional modifications in the Senate. The greatest threat in the House is to FEPC which Minority Leader Halleck is believed to oppose.

Whatever the delays in the House, it will be the ultimate responsibility of the President and Senate Democratic leadership to lead the fight for enactment of strong civil rights legislation in the Senate. This requires strengthening the present bill to include an enforceable public accommodations section covering all places open to the public, an administratively enforceable FEPC, and authority for the Attorney General to protect Fourteenth Amendment rights otherwise denied because of race. The House Judiciary Committee bill is moderate and the product of compromise. If it were to be further weakened in its journey through either House, the result would be widespread civil disobedience.

Some principal improvements made in the House Judiciary Committee version over President Kennedy's original recommendations include authority for the Attorney General to intervene to protect against denials of equal protection of the laws because of race; a court enforceable FEPC; requirement for each Federal department and agency to develop programs that assure that Federal expenditures are made nondiscriminatorily; a permanent Civil Rights Commission; an order remanding a case from the Federal Courts to a State court is made appealable in the Federal Circuit Court of Appeals, which should help keep peaceful protesters out of the hands of racist state judges.

Nevertheless, the Judiciary Committee bill, as improved as it is, is not perfect. It lacks total coverage in public accommodations for retail stores, barber shops, beauty parlors, swimming pools, bowling alleys and other activities calling for direct participation. It lacks authority for the Attorney General to initiate suits to protect Fourteenth Amendment minority group constitutional rights--limiting his authority to intervene only. The FEPC provision lacks commission enforcement, and requires that every individual charge be tried separately by a court, a less effective method for ending job discrimination. The Leadership Conference is supporting amendments to the civil rights bill that will correct these deficiencies.

ECONOMIC POLICY

A. Taxes

The tax bill approved by the House may quicken economic growth a little, but it will hardly have much impact in reducing unemployment.

The only comforts drawn from the House legislation is that for the first time the House approved tax legislation designed to use "discretionary" fiscal policy--or as conservatives would say, "a planned deficit"--as a positive instrument to stimulate economic growth. In addition to the income and corporate tax cuts, the House bill includes a "minimum standard deduction" which will have the effect of raising the tax exemptions for those who earn less than $5,000 per year and repeals the regressive credit provision permitting stockholders to subtract 4% of dividend income from their taxes.

Evidently the politics of getting a tax bill through the Ways and Means Committee necessitates accommodating every interest, particularly that represented by upper income taxpayers. To win some minimal progressive measures a ransom price was paid: the tax bill was stripped of the most important reforms proposed by President Kennedy. And the conservative-dominated Senate Finance Committee is already voting additional regressive features into the tax measure.

B. Education

Congress authorized a five-year program of Federal grants and loans for construction and improvement of public and private higher education facilities. President Johnson hailed the measure as "the most significant education bill" ever passed by Congress. It is that only because the prime need in education, Federal aid to public elementary and secondary schools is not even under public discussion. Capitol Hill apparently does not know that our schools are over-crowded, that our teachers are poorly trained and poorly paid, and that students leave school ill-prepared for our increasingly complex society.

FOREIGN POLICY

A. Test Ban Treaty

Perhaps the most significant long range aspect of the Senate's approval of the test ban treaty is the overwhelming senatorial lag in understanding that we live in a dangerous nuclear world. The Senate test ban debate showed that some Senators believe there is virtue in permanent underground testing and that foreign policy decisions should be influenced largely (and to the opponents of the treaty solely) by military considerations. Unfortunately, the need for balancing risks is unrecognized by many Senators and Congressmen. This is shown by Congress' cutting the Administration request for a $15 million appropriation to the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency to $7.5 million.

B. Foreign Aid

Congress regressed in its consideration of foreign aid legislation. The House Democratic leadership paid fealty to Congressman Passman's feudal power of life and death over America's foreign economic policy and accepted Passman's drastic cuts in the foreign aid appropriation.

Minority Leader Halleck took the "low road" leading the fight to negate the wheat deal and impair the long established U.S. policy of trading with Eastern Europe in non-strategic items. Halleck's move to kill bi-partisan foreign policy and return the U. S. Congress to an isolationist past was ultimately defeated. But its long range implications indicate persistent partisan wrangling in foreign policy matters.

Although the wheat deal was not blocked, Congress reduced President Kennedy's $4.5 billion foreign aid request to $3 billion. Congress refuses to recognize that our foreign aid program has been a spectacular success and an indispensable element in bringing some economies to the point where their economic development can be largely self-sustained.

AMERICANS FOR DEMOCRATIC ACTION
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V O T I N G R E C O R D

88th CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION

EXPLANATORY NOTE

The Voting Record is offered as a guide in judging the performance of Senators and Congressmen on issues of importance. Readers, however, will recognize the Record's inherent limitations. It is, of course, no measure of a legislator's creative ability or the diligence with which he performs his work in Committee, nor does it reflect on its face the failure of the current Congress to deal with many of the most urgent needs of the nation or the degree of responsibility of individual legislators for this failure. These judgments cannot be made in statistics or percentages; they require the use of other yardsticks and careful scrutiny on an individual basis of the capabilities of legislators.

The Record does not evaluate the attendance records of Senators or Congressmen. However, an undue number of absences may provide a basis for further inquiry into the legislator's attention to his duties.

KEY TO SYMBOLS FOR HOUSE AND SENATE VOTES

(+) indicates a vote which ADA believes to be in harmony with liberal policies.

(-) indicates a vote which ADA believes to be contrary to liberal policies.

(+p) indicates a "pair" in favor of what ADA considers the liberal position on the specific issue.

(-p) indicates a "pair" contrary to what ADA considers the liberal position on the specific issue.

(+a) means the member was absent but was officially announced as favoring the liberal position on the specific issue.

(-a) means the member was absent but was officially announced as opposed to the liberal position on the specific issue.

(A) indicates the member was officially recorded as absent.

The number next to a Representative's name refers to his district.

(AL) means the Representative has no specific district but was elected "at large."

Democrats in the House are listed first in alphabetical order. Republicans are underlined.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES VOTING RECORD
88TH CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	Liberal Quotient
ALABAMA													
AL-Andrews	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	17
AL-Elliot	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	A	+	+p	+	82
AL-Grant	-	A	-	A	-	-	+	-	-p	+	A	-p	22
AL-Huddleston	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	33
AL-Jones	+	+	+	-	A	+	+	-p	+	+	-	+	73
AL-Rains	+	+	+	A	A	+	A	-	+	+	+p	A	88
AL-Roberts	+	+	+	-	A	+	+	-	A	+	A	+	78
AL-Selden	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	17
ALASKA													
AL-Rivers	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	92
ARIZONA													
1-Senner	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	75
2-Udall	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	75
1-Rhodes	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
ARKANSAS													
1-Gathings	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	17
4-Harris	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	A	-	+	-p	+	64
2-Mills	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	A	+	64
3-Trimble	+	+	+	-	+p	+	A	A	+	+	-	+p	80
CALIFORNIA													
29-Brown	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+p	+	+	+p	+	100
27-Burkhatter	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+p	83
25-Cameron	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	A	+	100
7-Cohelan	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+p	100
22-Corman	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
9-Edwards	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+p	+	+	+	100
18-Hagen	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	67
34-Hanna	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+p	+p	+	-	+	83
21-Hawkins	+	+	+	+	+	+	A	+p	+	+	+	+	100
19-Holifield	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+p	+	+	+	+	100
2-Johnson	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	75
17-King	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
4-Leggett	+	+	+	A	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	91
15-McFall	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	83
8-Miller	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	A	+	91

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	Liberal Quotient
CALIFORNIA													
3-Moss	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	92
26-Roosevelt	+	+	+p	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+p	100
30-Roybal	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+p	+	+	+	+	100
5-Shelley	+	+	+p	A	+p	+	A	+p	A	+	+p	A	100
33-Sheppard	+	+	+	A	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	82
16-Sisk	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+p	92
37-Van Deerlin	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	83
31-Wilson	+	+	+	-	+	+	A	+p	+	+	+	+	91
14-Baldwin	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	25
28-Bell	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	17
1-Clausen	vac.	-	-	-	-	A	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
23-Clawson	v.	v	v	v	v	v	+	-	-	-	-	-	14
10-Gubser	-	-	-	-	-	-	A	-	-	A	-	-	0
32-Hosmer	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	A	-	-	0
24-Lipscomb	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	8
6-Maillard	-	-p	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	25
38-Martin	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	8
20-Smith	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	8
12-Talcott	-	-	-p	-	-p	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
13-Teague	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
35-Utt	-	-	-	-	-p	-	-	-p	-	-	-	-	0
36-Wilson, R.	-	-	-	-	-	-	+p	-p	-	-	-	-p	8
11-Younger	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-p	17
COLORADO													
4-Aspinall	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-p	+	+	-	+	75
1-Rogers	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	92
2-Brotzman	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	8
3-Chenoweth	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	8
CONNECTICUT													
1-Daddario	+	A	+	-	+	+	+	+p	+	+	+	+	91
3-Giaimo	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	A	+	+	+	+	91
AL-Grabowski	+	+	+	A	+	+	A	+p	+	+	+p	+	100
5-Monagan	+	+	+	A	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
2-St. Onge	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+p	+	A	+p	+	91
4-Sibal	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	+p	-	+	+	-	50
DELAWARE													
AL-McDowell	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+p	+	+	+	+	92

FLORIDA	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	Liberal Quotient
2-Bennett	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	58
4-Fascell	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	A	+	+	-	+	82
9-Fuqua	-	-p	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-p	-	33
10-Gibbons	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	58
7-Haley	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	8
5-Herlong	-	-	-	-	-	-	A	-	-	+	-p	-	9
8-Matthews	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	A	+	-	-	36
3-Pepper	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	A	+	91
6-Rogers	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	50
1-Sikes	+	-p	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-p	-	33
12-Cramer	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-p	-	-	-	-	0
11-Gurney	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-p	-	-	-	-	0
GEORGIA													
7-Davis	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	50
4-Flynt	+	+	+	-	-	-	A	-p	-	+	-	+	45
3-Forrester	+	+	A	A	A	A	A	-	-	-	-p	-	29
1-Hagan	+	+	+	A	-	+	+	-	-	+	A	-p	60
9-Landrum	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	A	55
2-Pilcher	+	+	+	A	-	-	+	-p	-p	-	-p	-p	36
10-Stephens	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-p	-	+	-	-	50
8-Tuten	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	50
6-Vinson	+	+	A	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	73
5-Weltner	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	75
HAWAII		----------											
AL-Gill	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
AL-Matsunaga	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	92
IDAHO													
2-Harding	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-p	+	83
1-White	A+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	A	+	82
ILLINOIS													
1-Dawson	+	+	+	-	+	+	A	+	+	+	A	+	90
9-Finnegan	+	+	+	A	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
21-Gray	+	+	+	-	+p	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	83
5-Kluczynski	+	+	+	-	+	+	A	+p	+	+	+p	+	91
7-Libonati	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	92
3-Murphy	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	92
6-O'Brien	+	+	+	-	+	+p	A	+p	A	A	A	+p	88

ILLINOIS	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	Liberal Quotient
2-O'Hara	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
24-Price	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	92
11-Pucinski	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	92
8-Rostenkowski	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+p	+	+	+	+	92
23-Shipley	+	+	+	-	+	+p	+	+	+	+	+p	+	92
16-Anderson	-	-	-	A	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
17-Arends	-	-	-	-	-	-	A	-	-	-	-	-	0
10-Collier	-	-	-	-	-	-p	-	A	-	-	-	-	0
4-Derwinski	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-p	0
20-Findley	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
14-Hoffman	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-p	-	-	-p	-p	0
12-McClory	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	8
19-McLoskey	-	-	-	-	-p	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
18-Michel	-	-	-	-	-	-	A	A	-	-	+	-	10
15-Reid	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-p	-	0
13-Rumsfeld	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
22-Springer	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	17
INDIANA													
3-Brademas	+	+p	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	92
8-Denton	+	+	+	-	+	+	A	+	+	+	+	+	91
1-Madden	+	+	+	-	+	+	A	+p	+	+	+	+	91
5-Roush	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+p	83
4-Adair	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-p	-	8
7-Bray	-	+p	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-p	25
11-Bruce	-	-	-	-p	-	-	-	-	-	-	A	-	0
2-Halleck	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	8
10-Harvey	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
6-Roudebush	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	8
9-Wilson	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	A	-	18
IOWA													
5-Smith	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	83
2-Bromwell	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	A	-	-	-	-	0
3-Gross	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
6-Hoeven	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
7-Jensen	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
4-Kyl	-	-	-	-	A	-	-	A	-	+	+	-	20

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	Liberal Quotient
1-Schwengel	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	A	-	-	-	18
KANSAS													
2-Avery	-	-	-	-	-	-	A	-	-	-	-	A	0
1-Dole	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
3-Ellsworth	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-p	-	-	-	-p	8
4-Shriver	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-p	-	0
5-Skubitz	-	-	-	A	-	-	-	-	-	-	-p	-	0
KENTUCKY													
4-Chelf	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-p	-	+	-	+	67
2-Natcher	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	67
7-Perkins	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	75
1-Stubblefield	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	67
6-Watts	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-p	+	67
3-Siler	-	+	-	-p	-	+	A	-	-	+	+p	-	36
5-Snyder	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+p	-	8
LOUISIANA													
2-Boggs	+	+	+	A	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	91
1-Hebert	-	-p	+p	-	-	-	A	-	+	+	+p	+p	45
8-Long	+	+	+	-	-	+	A	-p	+	+	-p	-	55
6-Morrison	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-p	+	+	+	+	83
5-Passman	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	17
7-Thompson	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-p	-p	+	+p	+	67
4-Waggoner	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	8
3-Willis	+	+	+	-	-	+	A	-p	-p	+	-	+	55
MAINE													
2-McIntire	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-p	-	-	-	-	17
1-Tupper	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	A	64
MARYLAND													
4-Fallon	+	+	+	-	+	+	A	-	+	+	+p	-	73
7-Friedel	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	83
3-Garmatz	+	+	+	-	+	+	A	-	+	+	+p	+	82
5-Lankford	+	+	+	A	+	+	+	+p	+	+	+	+	100
2-Long	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+p	+	+	-	+	92
AL-Sickles	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
6-Mathias	+	+	+	+p	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	75
1-Morton	-	-	-	-	A	+	-	A	-	-	-	-	10

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	Liberal Quotient
MASSACHUSETTS													
2-Boland	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	92
11-Burke	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+p	92
4-Donohue	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+p	+	92
7-MacDonald	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+p	+	+	+p	+	92
9-McCormack													
8-O'Neill	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	A	+	+	+	91
3-Philbin	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	92
6-Bates	+	-	+	-	-p	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	42
1-Conte	+	-	+	A	+	-p	+	+	+	+	+	+	82
12-Keith	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-p	-	-	-	8
10-Martin	+	-	+	-	-	A	A	A	+	+	-	+	56
5-Morse	+	+	+	-	-	-	+p	+p	+	+	+	+	75
MICHIGAN													
13-Diggs	+	+	+	-	+	+	A	+	+	+	+	+	91
15-Dingell	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
17-Griffiths	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	A	+	+	+p	+p	91
16-Lesinski	+	A	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	A	+	80
1-Nedzi	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+p	100
7-O'Hara	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-p	+	83
14-Ryan	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+p	+	92
AL-Staebler	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	92
12-Bennett	+	+	+	A	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	64
18-Broomfield	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	33
10-Cederberg	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	A	-	-	-	-p	0
6-Chamberlain	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-p	-	-	-	-	0
5-Ford	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-p	-	-	-	-	0
9-Griffin	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	8
8-Harvey	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	A	-p	-	-	-	0
4-Hutchinson	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
3-Johansen	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
11-Knox	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-p	-	-	-	-	8
2-Meader	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	A	-	-	-	-	0
MINNESOTA													
8-Blatnik	+	+	+	A	+	+	A	+	+	+	+	+	100
5-Fraser	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
4-Karth	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+p	+	92

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	Liberal Quotient
6-Olson	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
7-Langen	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
3-MacGregor	-	-	-	+p	-	-	+	+p	-	-	-p	-	25
2-Nelsen	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	17
1-Quie	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
MISSISSIPPI													
1-Abernethy	-	-	-	-	-	-	A	-	-	-	-p	-	0
5-Colmer	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	8
2-Whitten	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	8
3-Williams	-	-	-	-	-	-	A	-p	-	+	-	-	9
4-Winstead	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-p	-	0
MISSOURI													
5-Bolling	+	+	+	A	+	+	+	+	+	+	+p	+	100
9-Cannon	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	A	+	45
6-Hull	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	42
8-Ichord	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	58
10-Jones	-	A	+	-	A	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	20
1-Karsten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
4-Randall	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+p	+	92
3-Sullivan	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+p	92
2-Curtis	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	A	-	-	-	-	9
7-Hall	-	-	-	-p	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
MONTANA													
1-Olsen	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	92
2-Battin	-	-	-	-	-	A	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
NEBRASKA													
1-Beerman	-	-	-	A	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
2-Cunningham	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	8
3-Martin	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-p	-	0
NEVADA													
AL-Baring	-	+	-	A	-p	A	-	A	-	-	A	-	12
NEW HAMPSHIRE													
2-Cleveland	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	8
1-Wyman	-	-	-p	-	-	A	-p	-p	-	-	-p	-	0
NEW JERSEY													
14-Daniels	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+p	+	92
13-Gallagher	+	A	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+p	+	91

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	Liberal Quotient
8-Joelson	+	+	+	A	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
11-Minish	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	92
15-Patten	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	92
10-Rodino	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	92
4-Thompson	+	+	+	A	+	+	+	+	+	+	+p	+	100
3-Auchincloss	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-p	-	17
1-Cahill	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	A	+	+	+	-	64
6-Dwyer	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	A	-	+	+	-	45
5-Frelinghuysen	-	-	-p	-	-	-	A	-	+	+	-	+	27
2-Glenn	+	+	+	-	A	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	55
9-Osmers	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	+p	+	+	-p	50
12-Wallhauser	+	-	+	-	-	-p	+	A	-	+	+	-	45
7-Widnall	-	-	-p	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	17
NEW MEXICO													
AL-Montoya	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	75
AL-Morris	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	75
NEW YORK													
7-Addabbo	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	83
23-Buckley	+	+	+p	A	+p	+	A	+p	+	+	+p	+	100
15-Carey	+	+	+	-	+	+	A	+	+	+	+	-	82
10-Celler	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+p	+	100
9-Delaney	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+p	+	+	+	-	83
41-Dulski	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	A	+	+	-	73
19-Farbstein	+	+p	+	+	+	+	+	+p	+	+	+	+	100
22-Gilbert	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
21-Healey	+	A	A	-	+	+	+	+p	+	+	+	+	90
12-Kelly	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+p	+	92
11-Keogh	+	+	+	A	+	+	+	+	+p	+	+p	+p	100
13-Multer	+	+	+	+p	+	+	A	+	+	+	+p	+	100
16-Murphy	+	+	+	-	+	+p	A	+p	+	+	+	+p	91
29-O'Brien	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	75
1-Pike	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	75
18-Powell	+	A	+	A	+p	+p	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
14-Rooney	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	92
8-Rosenthal	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
20-Ryan	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	A	+	+	100
35-Stratton	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	92

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	Liberal Quotient
25-Barry	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	A	+	+	-	-	27
5- Becker	-	-	-	-	-	-	A	-	-	-	+p	-p	9
3-Derounian	-	-	-	-	-	-	A	A	-	-	-p	-	0
24-Fino	+	A	+	A	+	+	+	+p	+	+	+	-	90
38-Goodell	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	A	-	+	-	-	18
2-Grover	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	25
6-Halpern	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	A	+	+	+	-	73
36-Horton	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	42
31-Kilburn	-	-p	-	-	-	-	A	-p	-	-	-p	-	0
30-King	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
17-Lindsay	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+p	+	+	+	+	83
40-Miller	-	-	-	A	-	A	A	-p	-	-	+p	-	11
37-Ostertag	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	25
39-Pillion	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	A	0
32-Pirnie	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+p	-	25
26-Reid	+	-	-	A	-	-	+	+p	+	+	+	-	55
34-Riehlman	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+p	-p	25
33-Robison	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	33
27-St. George	-	-	-	-	A	-	-	A	-	-	+	-	10
28-Wharton	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	A	-	-	-	-	18
4-Wydler	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+p	-	33
NO. CAROLINA													
1-Bonner	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-p	+	75
4-Cooley	+	+	+p	A	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	64
2-Fountain	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	25
3-Henderson	+	+	+p	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	50
6-Kornegay	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	A	-	36
7-Lennon	-	-	A	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	A	-	10
5-Scott	-	+	-	A	A	A	A	-	-	+	-p	-	25
11-Taylor	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-p	-	42
10-Whitener	-	A	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	A	-	-	10
9-Broyhill	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	8
8-Jonas	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
NORTHDAKOTA													
1-Andrew											-	-	0
2-Short	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	A	-	-	-	-p	0

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	Liberal Quotient
OHIO													
9-Ashley	+	+	+p	+	+	+	A	+	+	+	+	+	100
20-Feighan	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	83
18-Hays	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	92
19-Kirwan	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	92
15-Secrest	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	75
21-Vanik	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	92
10-Abele	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	A	-	0
17-Ashbrook	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	A	-	0
14-Ayres	+	-	+	A	-	A	A	-	-	+	-p	-	33
8-Betts	-	-	-p	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
22-Bolton, F.P.	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	17
11-Bolton, O.P.	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	17
16-Bow	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+p	-	17
7-Brown	-	-	-	-	-	-p	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
2-Clancy	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	8
12-Devine	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	8
6-Harsha	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	8
5-Latta	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
4-McCulloch	-	-	-	-	-	-	-p	A	-	-	-	-	0
23-Minshall	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	8
13-Mosher	-	-	-	+p	-p	A	-	+	-	+	+	-	36
1-Rich	-	-	A	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	18
3-Schenck	-	-	-	A	-	-	+	-p	-	+	-p	-	18
AL-Taft	-	-	-	A	-	-	-	-p	-	-	-	-	0
OKLAHOMA													
3-Albert	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	75
2-Edmondson	+	+	-	A	+	+	+	-	+	+	-p	+	73
5-Jarman	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	25
4-Steed	+	+	+	A	+	+	A	-	+	+	-	+	80
6-Wickersham	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	75
1-Belcher	-	-	-	-	-	-	A	A	-	-	-	A	0
OREGON													
4-Duncan	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	83
3-Green	+	+	A	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
2-Ullman	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-p	+p	83
1-Norblad	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	Liberal Quotient
PENNSYLVANIA													
1-Barrett	+	+	+	A	+	+	A	+	+	+	+	+	100
3-Byrne	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	92
25-Clark	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+p	+	+	+	+	92
21-Dent	+	+	+	A	+	+	A	+p	+	+	+	+	100
11-Flood	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	83
5-Green	+	+	+	-	+	+	A	+	+	+	+	+p	91
20-Holland	+	+	+	-	+	+	A	+	+	+	+	+	91
14-Moorhead	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
26-Morgan	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	92
2-Nix	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	A	+	+	+	91
6-Rhodes	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	A	+	91
15-Rooney	v	v	v	v	v	v	v	+	+	+	+	+p	100
4-Toll	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	92
18-Corbett	+	+p	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	50
8-Curtin	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	25
9-Daque	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	8
27-Fulton	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	50
23 VACANCY													
19-Goodling	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
16-Kunkel	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	17
10-McDade	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+p	+	-	-	67
7-Milliken	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	A	27
22-Saylor	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	A	-	+	+	-	55
17-Schneebeli	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	8
13-Schweiker	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	33
24-Weaver	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	25
12-Whalley	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	33
RHODE ISLAND													
2-Fogarty	+	+	+	A	+p	+	A	+p	+	+	+	+	100
1-St. Germain	+	+	+	-	+p	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	92
SO. CAROLINA													
4-Ashmore	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-p	-	8
3-Dorn	-	-	-	A	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	9
5-Hemphill	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	67
6-McMillan	-	A	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	27
1-Rivers	-	+	+	-	-	A	+	-p	-	+	-	-	36

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	Liberal Quotient
2-Watson	-	-	-	-	-	-	A	-	-	-	+p	-	9
SOUTH DAKOTA													
2-Berry	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
1-Reifel	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	17
TENNESSEE													
6-Bass	+	+	+	-	+	+	A	-	A	+	+	+	80
9-Davis	-	+	+	-	+	-p	+	-	A	+	-	+	55
8-Everett	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	58
4-Evins	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-p	+	+	+	A	82
5-Fulton	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-p	+	+	+	+	83
7-Murray	A	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-p	+	27
2-Baker	-	+	-	-	-	+	A	-	-	-	+p	-	27
3-Brock	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	A	-	-	-	-	0
1-Quillen	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	8
TEXAS													
3-Beckworth	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	73
2-Brooks	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	92
17-Burleson	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	17
22-Casey	-	-	+	A	A	-	-	-p	-	+	-	-	20
7-Dowdy	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-p	-	17
21-Fisher	-	-	A	A	-	-	-	-p	-	-	-	-	0
20-Gonzalez	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
15-Kilgore	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	17
19 Mahon	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	25
1-Patman	+	+	+	-	+	+	A	-	+	+	-	+	73
11-Poage	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	42
AL-Pool	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8
13-Purcell	+	+	+	-	-	-	A	-	+	+	-	+	55
4-Roberts	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-p	-	33
18-Rogers	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	42
6-Teague	+	+	-p	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	42
8-Thomas	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	A	+	+	+	+	91
9-Thompson	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	A	73
10-Thornberry	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-p	+	83
12-Wright	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+p	-	-p	+	67
14-Young	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	92
5-Alger	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	Liberal Quotient
16-Forman	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
UTAH													
1-Burton	-	A	-	-	-p	-	-	-	-	-	-p	-	0
2-Lloyd	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
VERMONT													
AL-Stafford	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+p	-	33
VIRGINIA													
4-Abbitt	-	-	-p	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	8
1-Downing	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	25
3-Gacy	-	-	+	A	+	-	+	-p	+	-	-	-	36
2-Hardy	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	42
9-Jennings	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	67
7-Marsh	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	8
8-Smith	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	8
5-Tuck	-	-	-p	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	8
10-Broyhill	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	8
6-Poff	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	8
WASHINGTON													
3-Hansen	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	A	91
5-Horan	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-p	-	0
4-May	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-p	-	0
1-Pelly	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+p	-	8
7-Stinson	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	A	-	0
6-Tollefson	-	-	-	-	A	-	-	-	-	+	A	-	10
2-Westland	-	-	-	-	A	-	-	-	-	-	-p	-	0
WEST VIRGINIA													
4-Hechler	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	92
5-Kee	+	+	+	A	+	+	A	+p	+	+	+	+	100
3-Slack	+	+	+	A	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	91
2-Staggers	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+p	92
1-Moore	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	33
WISCONSIN													
9-Johnson	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	83
2-Kastenmeier	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
5-Reuss	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
4-Zablocki	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	83
8-Byrnes	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+p	-	17

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	Liberal Quotient
7-Laird	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-p	8
10-O'Konski	+	+	+	-	A	+p	+	-	-	+	+	-	64
1-Schadeberg	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
3-Thomson	-	-	-	-	A	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	9
6-Van Pelt	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-p	-	-	-	-p	0
WYOMING													
AL-Harrison	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0

U. S. SENATE
88TH CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	Liberal Quotient
ALABAMA																		
Hill	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	A	-	44
Sparkman	-	-	-	+	+p	-	+	A	+	A	+	+	+	+	-	+	-a	60
ALASKA																		
Bartlett	-	-a	-	+	-p	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	59
Gruening	-	-	-a	+	+	+	+	+	+	+a	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	71
ARIZONA																		
Hayden	-	-	-	+	-	+p	+	-	+	+	+	+	+a	+a	-	+	-	59
Goldwater	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-a	-	-	-	-	0
ARKANSAS																		
Fulbright	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	A	+	A	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	53
McClellan	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-p	-	6
CALIFORNIA																		
Engle	+	+p	+	+	+	+	+	+	-p	+a	+a	+a	A	+a	+a	+p	-a	88
Kuchel	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+p	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	65
COLORADO																		
Allott	+	+	-	-	-p	-p	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	18
Dominick	-	+	-	-p	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-p	-p	-	-	-	12
CONNECTICUT																		
Dodd	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+p	+	+	+	-	+	-a	+	76

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	Liberal Quotient
Ribicoff	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	88
DELAWARE																		
Boggs	+	+	-a	-	-	-	-	-	-	+p	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	47
Williams	-	+	-a	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	12
FLORIDA																		
Holland	-	-	-	-	+	+p	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-p	-	-	35
Smathers	-	-	-	-a	+	+	+	-	-p	-	+	+	+	+	A	-a	-p	44
GEORGIA																		
Russell	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	A	-	-	-	6
Talmadge	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	18
HAWAII																		
Inouye	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+p	+	+	82
Fong	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	65
IDAHO																		
Church	+	+	A	+	+	+	+a	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+p	+	A	92
Jordan	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-a	-	-	-	-	6
ILLINOIS																		
Douglas	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+a	+	+	+	+	+p	-p	+	94
Dirksen	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-p	+	+	+	+	-p	-	-	24

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	Liberal Quotient
INDIANA																		
Bayh	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+p	+p	+p	+	+	+	+	+p	+	+	88
Hartke	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+a	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	82
IOWA																		
Hickenlooper	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-p	-	+	+	+	-	-	-a	24
Miller	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	13
KANSAS																		
Carlson	-	-	-	-a	-	-	-	-	-	-p	+	+	+	+	-	+	-p	29
Pearson	-a	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	13
KENTUCKY																		
Cooper	+	+	-	-	-p	+	+	-	+p	+	+	+	+	+p	-	-	-	79
Morton	-	+	-	-	-	-a	+	-	-	A	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	38
LOUISIANA																		
Ellender	-	-	-	-	+	A	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-p	+	-	19
Long	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-p	-p	-	+	-p	-p	+	-p	24
MAINE																		
Maskie	+	+	A	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	94
Smith	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	81
MARYLAND																		
Brewster	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	-p	+	+p	82

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	Liberal Quotient
Boall	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	+p	47
MASSACHUSETTS																		
Kennedy	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+p	94
Saltonstall	-	+	-a	-	-	-	-	A	-	A	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	40
MICHIGAN																		
Hart	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+a	+	+	-	94
McNamara	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+a	+	+	+p	+	+	+	+	100
MINNESOTA																		
Humphrey	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+a	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	94
McCarthy	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+p		+	+	94
MISSISSIPPI																		
Eastland	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-p	-	-	-	-	-p	-	-p	+p	-	6
Stennis	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-p	A	-	-	-	0
MISSOURI																		
Long	+	+	-	+	+p	+a	+a	+a	+p		+	+	-	-	a	+	A	81
Symington	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+a	+	+	-	-	+p	+	+	70
MONTANA																		
Mansfield	-	+	-	+	+p	+	+	-	+	+p	+p	+	+	+	-	+	+	76
Metcalf	+p	+p	-	+	+p	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	94

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	Liberal Quotient
NEBRASKA																		
Curtis	-	-	-	-	-p	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Hruska	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-a	+	-	-	-	-	-	6
NEVADA																		
Bible	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	53
Cannon	-	-	-a	+	-p	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	53
NEW HAMPSHIRE																		
McIntyre	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	a	-a	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	32
Cotton	-	-	-p	-	-	-	-	-	-	A	-	+	A	-	-	-	-	7
NEW JERSEY																		
Williams	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	84
Case	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	30
NEW MEXICO																		
Anderson	+	+	+	+	+p	+	A	-	+	A	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	60
Mechem	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-p	A	-	-	-	-	-	-	-p	0
NEW YORK																		
Javits	+	+	+	+	+p	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	A	+	+	+	+	94
Keating	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+p	+	+	88
NO. CAROLINA																		
Ervin	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	18

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	Liberal Quotient
Jordan	-p	-p	-	-	+	-	·	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	·	-	24
NORTH DAKOTA																		
Burdick	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+p	+	+	-	-	·	+	+	88
Young	-	-	-	-	-	-	·	-	-	A	-	+	-	-	-p		-	19
OHIO																		
Lausche	+	+	-	-	+p	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	24
Young	+	+	+	+	+	+a	·	+	-	·	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	76
OKLAHOMA																		
Edmondson	-	-	-	-	-p	A	·	-		+	+	+	-p	·	A	-	-	50
Monroney	-	-	-		-	-	·	-p	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	65
OREGON																		
Morse	+p	+	+	+	+p	+	·	+a	·	+	+	+	-	-	+a	-a	-	76
Neuberger	+	+	+p	+	+	+	+	+a	+	+a	+	+	+	+a	+a	+	+	100
PENNSYLVANIA																		
Clark	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
Scott	+	+	-	+	-	-a	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	59
RHODE ISLAND																		
Pastore	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+a	+	+	+a	+	+p	+	+p	·	+	88
Pell	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	94

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	Liberal Quotient
SO. CAROLINA																		
Johnston	-	-	-	+	+	-	+a	=	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	41
Thurmond	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
SO. DAKOTA																		
McGovern	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+p	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	94
Mundt	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	A	-		-	-	-	-	-	0
TENNESSEE																		
Gore	-p	-	A	+p	+	+	+	A	-		a	+	+	+	+	+	+	80
Walters	v	v	v	v	v	v	v	v	v	+	-	+	A	-	-	+	-	45
TEXAS																		
Yarborough	-	+	+	+p	+	+	+	+	+	+a		+	-	-	+	+	-	76
Tower	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-p	-	-	-a	-	-	-	-	0
UTAH																		
Moss	+	+	+	A	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	94
Bennett	-	-	-	-p	-p	-a	-	-	-	A	-	-	-a	-	-	-	-	0
VERMONT																		
Aiken	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	A	-	+	+	+	+p	+	+	+	-	62
Prouty	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	A	-		+	+	A	A	+	-	+p	50
VIRGINIA																		
Byrd	-	-	-	-	-	-p	-	-	A	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	Liberal Quotient
Robertson	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-p	-	-	6
WASHINGTON																		
Jackson	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+a	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	65
Magnuson	-	+	-a		+	+	+	+a	+	+	+	+	-	+	+a	+	A	88
WEST VIRGINIA																		
Byrd	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+a	+	+	+	-	-	a	-		+	29
Randolph	-	+	-a	-	-	-	+	+p		+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	71
WISCONSIN																		
Nelson	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
Proxmire	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	71
WYOMING																		
McGee	-	-	-a	-	-	+	+a		+	+	+	+	+p		-p	+	-	65
Simpson	-	-	-	-	-p	-a	-	-	-	-p	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0

Harry
Mr Boyd

STATEMENT OF CHAIRMAN TO PEPCO AND WASHINGTON GAS LIGHT CO.

In July of last year, Senator Thomas J. Todd, Chairman of the U. S. Senate Subcommittee to Investigate Juvenile Delinquency, introduced a bill in the Senate to prohibit racial or religious discrimination in employment in the District of Columbia. At the time, he cited statistics showing approximately 13,000 youths between the ages of 16 and 20 out of school and out of work here. He said, "The simple fact is that the Washington labor market is ruthlessly segregated in many fields, and colored people have been denied equal access to virtually all fields."

Even earlier, Dr. James B. Conant, internationally renowned scientist and educator, in a study of the educational problems of metropolitan areas, indicated that the increasingly large number of youths without adequate training in job skills and without hope of meaningful employment now accumulating in our cities constitute an explosive potential in these communities. More recently, Attorney General Robert Kennedy challenged the leaders of this city to face the racial implications of these problems squarely, in order to avert just such explosive possibilities as those referred to by Dr. Conant.

As responsible members of this community, we are here today because we believe it our duty to accept this challenge. Further, we believe that the public utility companies of this city, enjoying as they do a monopoly of services whose economic position is maintained at the expense of the entire community, have a special obligation as their response to the challenge to provide leadership in making job training and employment opportunities readily available to the Negro youth of this city.

The dominant and influential positions of these companies demand that they vigorously pursue policies designed to create an economic atmosphere in the District of Columbia in which Negro job seekers will feel free to apply for any and all available jobs for which they can qualify or be trained. Moreover, we believe this can only be accomplished by a merit-hiring program that gives preferential treatment to Negro job seekers, particularly in training programs, and places Negro personnel in positions of high visibility requiring direct contact with the public.

[illegible] meeting is an [illegible] our concern that immediate steps be taken to give concrete reality to "merit hiring," and to end policies that are, primarily, verbal declarations of good intentions to indicate "tokenism" in employment that remains ruthlessly segregated and racially discriminatory.

*****

Pertinent Facts

1. Total number of employees
   - Number of Negro employees
   - Percent of Negro employees

2. Job classifications such as
   - Engineers
   - Clerical
   - Mechanics
   - Administrative etc.

3. Job qualifications
   - Education requirements
   - Experience requirements
   - Training requirements
   - Examinations given

4. Annual gross hiring rates
   - Negro
   - White

5. Applications per year
   - Negro
   - White

6. Promotion
   - Average time in grade
     - Negro
     - White

7. Recruiting sources
   - Union
   - United States Employment Service
   - Private employment agencies
   - Help wanted ads, etc.

1954 – Started in ~~4~~ Total Employment 1954

1955 – Two Negros in Customer Service. – 1960 ~~40~~

June 1957 – 1st Negro Meter Reader.

Customer Service Div.
Payroll section

DEPARTMENT OF [illegible]
Automation and [illegible]ini[illegible]
on 25, D. [illegible]

[illegible] of MDTA Training Projects
[illegible] Training Projects
[illegible] in [illegible]

United States Department of Labor
Office of Manpower, Automation and Training
Washington 25, D. C.

Status of MDTA Training Projects 1/ as of January 25, 1963

Part A - Summary

State	Projects Submitted 2/			Projects Approved		
	No. of States	No. of Projects	No. of Trainees Requested	No. of States	No. of Projects	No. of Trainees Approved
States and Other Jurisdictions Which Have Submitted Projects -----					51	
States and Other Jurisdictions With Approved Projects					----	
Total, All Projects	267	631	4/26,370	235	554	
Alabama	6	[illegible]	[illegible]	5	6	[illegible]
Alaska	1	[illegible]	[illegible]	0	0	[illegible]
Arizona	1	[illegible]	[illegible]	2	3	[illegible]
Arkansas	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	5	12	[illegible]
California	[illegible]	60	[illegible]	13	60	[illegible]
Colorado	[illegible]	3	[illegible]	1	3	[illegible]
Connecticut	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	12	41	[illegible]
Delaware	[illegible]	1	[illegible]	1	1	[illegible]
District of Columbia	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	1	5	[illegible]
Florida	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	2	3	[illegible]
Georgia	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	6	6	[illegible]
Guam	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Hawaii	[illegible]	4	[illegible]	2	4	[illegible]
Idaho	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	1	1	[illegible]
Illinois	[illegible]	11	[illegible]	4	[illegible]	[illegible]
Indiana	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

State	No. of Areas	No. of Projects	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Iowa	7	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Kansas	1	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Kentucky	16	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Louisiana	---	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Maine	9	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Maryland	1	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Massachusetts	3	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Michigan	17	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Minnesota	3	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Mississippi	3	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Missouri	13	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Montana	5	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Nebraska	1	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Nevada	3	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
New Hampshire	3	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
New Jersey	5	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
New Mexico	5	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
New York	10	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
North Carolina	4	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
North Dakota	3	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Ohio	23	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Oklahoma	4	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Oregon	1	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Pennsylvania	23	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Puerto Rico	7	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Rhode Island	1	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
South Carolina	4	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
South Dakota	1	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Tennessee	7	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Texas	4	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Utah	1	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Vermont	1	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Virginia	1	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

State and project No.	Area	Occupation	No. of Trainees Approved	Duration of Course (In Weeks)	Date Training Started 1/
[illegible], cont'd.					
[illegible]	[illegible]	Pipe Fitter (entry)	[illegible]	[illegible]	
Delaware					
Del. 1	Wilmington	Laboratory Assistant	[illegible]	14	
District of Columbia					
D. C. 1	Washington	[illegible] Attendant	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
D. C. 2	Washington	Clerk-Typist	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
D. C. 3	Washington	Nurses, Licensed, Practical	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
D. C. 4	Washington	Cook, Hotel and Restaurant	[illegible]	[illegible]	
D. C. 5	Washington	Nurse, Practical	[illegible]	[illegible]	
Florida					
Fla. 1	Tampa-St. Petersburg	Clerk-Typist	[illegible]	[illegible]	
Fla. 2	Pensacola	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	
Fla. 3	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	
Georgia					
Ga. 1	Atlanta	Draftsman, Electrical	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Ga. 2	Macon	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Ga. 3	Albany	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	
Ga. 4	Columbus	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	
Ga. 5	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	
Ga. 6	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	
Hawaii					
[illegible]	Honolulu	Sewing Machine Operator	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]			
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

[illegible]

State and Project	Area	Occupation	[illegible] Trainees Approved	[illegible] (in weeks)	[illegible]
[illegible]					
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	
[illegible]	Minneapolis-St. Paul	Machine Operator, General	[illegible]	[illegible]	
[illegible]	Minneapolis-St. Paul	[illegible] (entry)	[illegible]	[illegible]	
[illegible]	Minneapolis-St. Paul	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	
[illegible]	Minneapolis-St. Paul	[illegible] Punch Operator	[illegible]	[illegible]	
[illegible]					
[illegible]	[illegible]	Machine Operator, General	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	Office Machine Serviceman	[illegible]	[illegible]	
[illegible]					
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible] Mechanic (entry)	[illegible]	[illegible]	
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible] Combination	[illegible]	[illegible]	
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	10/15/62
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	
[illegible]	Marion and Ralls Counties	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	
[illegible]	Marion and Ralls Counties	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	
[illegible]	Marion and Ralls Counties	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	

[illegible]

[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]

Statement by JULIUS W. HOBSON,

President, Washington CORE,

before the Subcommittee on Public Health, Education, Welfare and Safety,
Senate District Committee,

(Sample Affidavit of Plaintiff)

District of Columbia: ss

I, Allen Cooper, being first duly sworn according to law, depose and say:

I am a citizen of the state of New Mexico and presently reside at 2124 P Street, N.W., Washington 36, D. C.

On the evening of June 30, 1963 at approximately 9:00 P.M. I was at Du Pont Circle, Washington D. C. standing on the grass near the place where Massachusetts and P street leave that circle.

Five persons, including myself were engaged in discussion. About 20 or 25 people were also looking on and listening to the discussion. The general air of the discussion was very orderly and peaceful.

I saw two policemen approach the group and ask the listeners to step back or move away a few feet from the people who were talking. The listeners obeyed this order and moved back remaining in good order except that one listener stated that he could not hear the conversation in the position in which he was located. After this the policemen stepped backed and allowed the discussion to continue.

During the course of this continued conversation I made the statement, "Oh, hell," this statement being the beginning of a sentence, in a normal speaking voice whereupon the park policeman, E. B. Cutshaw, Badge 53, grabbed me by the right upper arm. He pulled me away saying, "You can't say that in this park." The group around us asked the officer why he was taking me away. The officer did not reply.

The officer then locked my right wrist behind my back in a very painful position even though I was not and never did at any time resist. I asked him if he would let me walk under my own power to any place he would direct me. He, however, continued to wrench my wrist. He also had his left hand on my belt inside my pants in back of me, partially suspending me in the air. He pushed me toward a police dog wagon parked at the curb along side Du Pont Circle. He made me put my hands upon the side of the wagon and pulled my legs apart.

He the, searched me from head to toe. In the act of the search, as he ran his hands up my left leg, he hit my testicles with the upper side of his right hand. This action was so painful that I had to sit down for approximately ten minutes on the grass alongside the sidewalk.

The police then told me to get into a police car parked in front of the dog wagon.

I was then taken to the 3rd Precinct police station, booked and jailed by the Metropolitan Police.

_____
Allen Cooper

Subscribed and sworn before me this _____ day of July, 1963.

_____Notary Public

WASHINGTON CORE

NO 7-5295 or 232-2914

IF YOU ARE INVOLVED IN AN ACT OF POLICE BRUTALITY,

PLEASE CALL ONE OF THE ABOVE NUMBERS IMMEDIATELY!

Keep this with you at all times.

WASHINGTON CORE

NO 7-5295 or 232-2914

IF YOU SEE OR ARE INVOLVED IN AN ACT OF POLICE BRUTALITY,

PLEASE CALL ONE OF THE ABOVE NUMBERS IMMEDIATELY!

Keep this with you at all times.

PROCEDURE FOR THE CASE WORKER

1. The Case Worker will receive the case from Allen Cooper, the Chairman. This will include a brief statement of the facts and the charge incurred.

2. The Case Worker then promptly gets in touch with one of the lawyers to inquire what the charges imply and what procedure is suggested from that point.

Lawyers:

Richard Scupi, 783-3663 — Office Phone
CO 5-4777 — Home Phone

It is necessary to begin action immediately so that you may contact the plaintiff while the details are vivid.

Ben Kleindorfer, 332 -9205

3. After contacting the lawyer, contact the plaintiff and collect all the facts of the case including the respective people, places, time, nature of the action, physical geography, etc. (Refer to the sample affidavit).
Also contact the witnesses and obtain a written statement of the witness, i.e. obtain the facts from each witness, only what he observed, and have him sign the statement in your presence. These need not be typed. (Refer to the sample statement).

4. After the facts are collected, refer the affidavit of the plaintiff and statements of the witnesses to the lawyer. (May be un-typed)

5. After the lawyer approves the affidavit, submit it to ~~Judy Shelton, Secretary, Phone — TU 2-1081 or LA 6-7182~~ for final typing.
~~Address: 704 Peabody Street, N. W.~~

6. Then pick up the final draft of the affidavit from the Secretary and accompany the plaintiff to a Notary Public where he will sign the typed affidavit, and it becomes official.

7. Then re-submit the affidavit to your lawyer.
The case will be handled by the lawyer from this point, with your assistance where needed.

IF YOU HAVE ANY QUESTIONS DURING THE PROCEDURE, CONTACT EITHER OF THE LAWYERS, OR ALLEN COOPER, CHAIRMAN OF THE COMMITTEE ON POLICE BRUTALITY.

(Sample Statement of Witness)

STATEMENT OF PETER S. SHOENFELD

My name is Peter S. Shoenfeld, age 23, 1728 Lamont Street, N.W., and I am employed at the National Bureau of Standards as a mathematician.

On June 30, I stood on the edge of a groupat Dupont Circle. This group was engaged in orderly discussion. The time was about 8:00 P.M.

A man who looked about in his middle 30's or 40's, about 5' 10", swarthy, black hair was yelling insults at the group. He was yelling principally at a Negro whomshe accused of prea ching "Communism." He also yelled at me, asking me if I was dissatisfied and finally summed up by telling me I should leave the country. The group laughed at him. He then went away heading towards the northeast part of DuPont Circle.

Standing directly to my left was Allen Cooper. We were talking about Civil Rights. The principles in the discussion were about 5. There was also a group around us who sometimes chimed into the discussion. The listeners were about 60 in number. This group was very orderly, almost in the fashion of a panel type discussion, only one person speaking at a time.

Two park policemen walked into the group in a rather friendly manner. They said that those who were talking should stay where they were, but that they wanted the listeners to spread out. Some of the listeners moved. The two policemen seemed non-committal and retreated off to one side. I heard one say, "We'll see what to do when the Lieutenant gets here." We went on then with the discussion for about half an hour. I did notice, however, as I looked from time to time that more policemen were gathering.

Suddenly a policeman walked up behind Cooper and said something about bad languagebeing used. I was about 2 feet from Cooper and was not listening to the discussion too closely. I can't recall exactly what Cooper was saying. The policeman grabbed Cooper sort of firmly. The policeman moved Cooper toward a street. I then went across the street to call a friend. When I came back Cooper was in a police car. He was then driven away.

signed _____

(Note the details of the description.)

WASHINGTON CORE

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PLEASE CALL ONE OF THE ABOVE NUMBERS IMMEDIATELY!

Keep this with you at all times.

WASHINGTON CORE

NO 7-5295 or 232-2914

IF YOU SEE OR ARE INVOLVED IN AN ACT OF POLICE BRUTALITY,

PLEASE CALL ONE OF THE ABOVE NUMBERS IMMEDIATELY!

Keep this with you at all times.

STATEMENT BY SENATOR CLIFFORD P. CASE (R-N. J.)
FOR WASHINGTON AREA CHAPTER,
CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY RALLY
SUNDAY, JUNE 11, 1961

For many years now the issue of civil rights has loomed ever larger on the international as well as the domestic scene. No longer can it be ignored, even in those areas most determinedly clinging to the backward usages of a bygone day.

Most particularly, no longer can Congress ignore the issue.

Twice in recent years the Congress has acted on civil rights legislation, the first such legislation since the period immediately following the Civil War. To that extent, passage of the legislation was an achievement. But in terms of legislative content measured against the need, it was a pitifully small step forward.

I believe we are going to have to do much more and do it much faster. Unless we redouble the pace at which we have been moving, the tensions that are mounting in great areas of the country could lead to explosive disaster.

Unfortunately, as the problem here at home has taken on new dimensions, our efforts to resolve it have not kept pace. True, we have achieved some integration in schools. Too much of it, however, has been of the token variety. And even this has been accomplished only after painful experience and at the expense of the education of thousands of youngsters.

Progress has been made in securing the right to vote, but at a snail's pace and against the most bitter opposition. Too often in our legislative halls, the civil rights issue has been exploited for partisan political purposes or cynically used as a means of frustrating the general will.

More than a decade ago the Supreme Court held segregation in interstate commerce unconstitutional. But as the Freedom Riders have demonstrated, the right to non-segregated service and non-segregated facilities has yet to be recognized in some parts of our country. The violence and disregard for law and order which have attended their trips is shameful, the more so because it is directed against the peaceful exercise of what is undeniably the right of every citizen. I suspect many who criticize those who seek to exercise their rights speak with an uneasy conscience. For years we have all known that, for example, the right to unsegregated travel and unsegregated facilities has been systematically denied to some of our citizens, that court decisions have been flagrantly ignored. And we did really nothing about it, either in the Congress or in the Executive branch. The advent of the Freedom Riders has made it impossible any longer to look away from the problem. It is an urgent one. The sooner we face up to it, the better off we shall be as individuals and as a nation.

Progress in civil rights is a task that can be left neither to time, nor just to the courts or the executive to take care of. All of us, in or out of government, have a responsibility for, all of us have a stake in, its solution. We are not alone in our concern. Indeed, the whole world is watching.

88TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

S. 860

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

FEBRUARY 19, 1963

Mr. MORSE introduced the following bill; which was read twice and referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia

A BILL

To amend the District of Columbia minimum wage law to provide broader coverage, improved standards of minimum wage and overtime compensation protection, and improved means of enforcement.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the District of Columbia minimum-wage law, approved September 19, 1918 (40 Stat. 960), as amended, is amended (except to the extent provided in section 3 of this Act) by striking out sections 1 through 23, inclusive, immediately following the designation "TITLE I—MINIMUM WAGES" and inserting in lieu thereof the following:

1 "FINDING AND DECLARATION OF POLICY

2 "SECTION 1. (a) The Congress hereby finds that there
3 are persons employed in some occupations in the District of
4 Columbia at wages insufficient to provide adequate mainte-
5 nance and to protect health. Such employment impairs the
6 health, efficiency, and well-being of the persons so employed,
7 constitutes unfair competition against other employers and
8 their employees, threatens the stability of industry, reduces
9 the purchasing power of employees, and requires, in many
10 instances, that their wages be supplemented by the payment
11 of public moneys for relief or other public and private assist-
12 ance. Employment of persons at these insufficient rates of
13 pay threatens the health and well-being of the people of the
14 District of Columbia and injures the overall economy.

15 "(b) It is hereby declared to be the policy of this Act
16 to correct and as rapidly as practicable to eliminate the con-
17 ditions referred to herein above.

18 "DEFINITIONS

19 "SEC. 2. As used in this Act—

20 "(a) 'Board' means the Minimum Wage and Industrial
21 Safety Board established by Reorganization Order Numbered
22 36 promulgated on June 16, 1953, pursuant to Reorganiza-
23 tion Plan Numbered 5 of 1952;

24 "(b) 'Wage' means compensation due to an employee
25 by reason of his employment, payable in legal tender of the

1 United States or checks on banks convertible into cash on
2 demand at full face value, including such allowances as may
3 be permitted by any order or regulation issued under section
4 3, 5, 6, or 7;

5 "(c) 'Employ' includes to suffer or permit to work;

6 "(d) 'Employer' includes any individual, partnership,
7 association, corporation, business trust, or any person or
8 group of persons, acting directly or indirectly in the interest
9 of an employer in relation to an employee, but shall not
10 include the United States or the District of Columbia;

11 "(e) 'Employee' includes any individual employed by
12 an employer but shall not include any (1) individual who,
13 without payment and without expectation of any gain, di-
14 rectly or indirectly, volunteers to engage in the activities of
15 an educational, charitable, religious, or nonprofit organiza-
16 tion, or (2) lay member elected or appointed to office within
17 the discipline of any religious organization and engaged in
18 religious functions;

19 "(f) 'Occupation' means any occupation, service, trade,
20 business, industry, or branch or group of occupations or
21 industries, or employment or class of employment, in which
22 employees are gainfully employed;

23 "(g) 'Gratuities' means voluntary monetary contribu-
24 tions received by an employee from a guest, patron, or
25 customer for services rendered.

1 "MINIMUM WAGE OVERTIME COMPENSATION

2 "SEC. 3. (a) Every employer (except as otherwise
3 provided in this Act) shall pay to each of his employees
4 wages at a rate of not less than $1.25 an hour or such higher
5 rate or rates applicable under a wage order issued pursuant
6 to this Act.

7 "(b) No employer shall employ any of his employees
8 for a workweek longer than forty hours unless such employee
9 receives compensation for his employment in excess of the
10 hours above specified at a rate not less than one and one-half
11 times the regular rate at which he is employed.

12 "(c) The minimum wage orders issued by the Board
13 prior to the effective date of the amendments made by the
14 Minimum Wage Amendments Act of 1963 shall remain
15 in full force and effect, except that they shall, subject to
16 the provisions of section 3 of that Act, be modified, effective
17 on such effective date, as follows:

18 "(1) any such order which does not provide for
19 minimum wages at a rate of at least $1.25 an hour
20 shall be modified by order of the Board to provide for
21 the payment of wages at a rate of not less than $1.25
22 an hour (except as otherwise provided in this Act);

23 "(2) all such orders shall be modified by order of
24 the Board to provide for the payment of overtime com-

1 pensation as prescribed in subsection (b) of this section;
2 and
3 "(3) all such orders shall be modified by order of
4 the Board to apply to all employees without regard to
5 the sex of any employee (except as otherwise provided
6 in this Act).
7 "(d) For those occupations with respect to which, on
8 the date of the enactment of the Minimum Wage Amend-
9 ments Act of 1963, there is no existing minimum wage
10 order, the Board shall issue an order, effective on the effec-
11 tive date of the amendments made by such Act, providing
12 for minimum wages at a rate of not less than $1.25 an
13 hour and for the payment of overtime compensation as
14 prescribed in subsection (b) of this section.
15 "(e) The minimum wage orders issued by the Board
16 prior to the date of the enactment of the Minimum Wage
17 Amendments Act of 1963 shall be modified by the Board
18 on or after the effective date of the amendments made by
19 such Act in order to accommodate, as the Board deems
20 necessary, the definitions and regulations of such orders to
21 carry out the purposes of this Act, to prevent the circum-
22 vention or evasion thereof, and to safeguard the minimum
23 wage rates and overtime provisions established therein. The
24 wage orders containing such revisions of definitions and

1 regulations shall take effect upon the expiration of thirty
2 days after the date on which they were made by the Board.
3 "(f) For those occupations with respect to which on the
4 date of the enactment of the Minimum Wage Amendments
5 Act of 1963 there is no existing minimum wage order, the
6 Board shall, with or without reference to an ad hoc ad-
7 visory committee as specified in section 5(a), make one or
8 more wage orders which may include unrelated occupations.
9 Such order or orders shall include the minimum wage and
10 overtime provisions as prescribed in subsections (a) and
11 (b) of this section, and include such definitions and regula-
12 tions as prescribed in section 7 as the Board deems neces-
13 sary to carry out the purposes of this Act, to prevent the
14 circumvention or evasion thereof, and to safeguard the mini-
15 mum wage rates and overtime provisions established therein.
16 The Board shall publish a notice once a week, for four suc-
17 cessive weeks, in a newspaper of general circulation printed
18 in the District of Columbia, stating that it will, on a date
19 and at a place named in the notice, hold a public hearing
20 on such order or orders at which all interested persons will
21 be given a reasonable opportunity to be heard. Such notice
22 shall contain a summary of the major provisions of such order
23 or orders. Within thirty days after such hearing, the Board
24 may make such order or orders as may be proper or neces-
25 sary to effectuate the purposes of this Act. Notice of such

1 order or orders shall be published in a newspaper of general
2 circulation printed in the District of Columbia and such
3 order or orders shall take effect upon the expiration of sixty
4 days after the date on which such order or orders were
5 made by the Board.

6 "POWERS AND DUTIES OF BOARD

7 "SEC. 4. (a) The Minimum Wage and Industrial Safety
8 Board established by Reorganization Order Numbered 36
9 promulgated on June 16, 1953, pursuant to Reorganization
10 Plan Numbered 5 of 1952 shall continue in existence. The
11 Board shall be subject to all of the provisions set forth in
12 Reorganization Order Numbered 36 and shall have the
13 authority vested in it by such reorganization order and by
14 the provisions of this Act.

15 "(b) The Board or its authorized representative shall,
16 in addition to the foregoing authority, have authority—

17 "(1) to investigate and ascertain the wages of
18 persons employed in any occupation in the District of
19 Columbia;

20 "(2) to enter and inspect the place of business or
21 employment of any employer in the District of Colum-
22 bia for the purpose of examining and inspecting any or
23 all books, registers, payrolls, and other records of any
24 such employer that in any way relate to or have a bear-
25 ing upon the wages, hours, and other conditions of em-

1 ployment of any employees; to copy any or all of such
2 books, registers, payrolls, and other records as the Board
3 or its authorized representative may deem necessary or
4 appropriate, and question such employee for the pur-
5 pose of ascertaining whether the provisions of this Act
6 and the orders and regulations issued thereunder have
7 been and are being complied with; and

8 "(3) to require from any such employer full and
9 correct statements in writing, including sworn state-
10 ments, with respect to wages, hours, names, addresses,
11 and such other information pertaining to the employment
12 of his employees as the Board or its authorized repre-
13 sentative may deem necessary or appropriate to carry
14 out the purposes of this Act.

15 "REVISION OF WAGE ORDERS

16 "SEC. 5. (a) At any time after a wage order has been in
17 effect for one year the Board may on its own motion, or on
18 the petition of fifty or more residents of the District of Colum-
19 bia, reconsider the wage rates set therein. If, after investiga-
20 tion, the Board is of the opinion that any substantial number
21 of workers in the occupation covered by such wage order
22 are receiving wages insufficient to provide adequate main-
23 tenance and to protect health it may convene an ad hoc
24 advisory committee for the purpose of considering and inquir-
25 ing into and reporting to the Board on the subject

1 investigated by the Board and submitted by it to such
2 committee.

3 "(b) The committee shall be composed of not more than
4 three persons representing the employers in such occupation,
5 of an equal number representing the employees in such occu-
6 pation, of not more than three persons representing the
7 public, and one or more members of the Board. The Board
8 shall name and appoint all the members of the committee and
9 designate the chairman thereof. Two-thirds of the members
10 of the committee shall constitute a quorum and the decision or
11 recommendation or report of the committee on such subject
12 submitted to it shall require an affirmative vote of not less
13 than a majority of all its members.

14 "(c) The Board shall present to the committee the in-
15 formation relating to the subject it submitted to the com-
16 mittee, and may cause to be brought before the committee
17 any witnesses whose testimony the Board considers material.

18 "(d) Within sixty days after the convening of the
19 committee by the Board, the committee shall make and
20 transmit to the Board a report containing its findings and
21 recommendations on the subject submitted to it by the Board
22 including recommendations as to minimum wages for em-
23 ployees in the occupation which will effectuate the purposes
24 of this Act, taking into consideration the amount of wages

1 sufficient to provide adequate maintenance and to protect
2 health, the fair and reasonable value of the work performed,
3 and the wages paid in the District of Columbia by fair em-
4 ployers for work of like or comparable character: *Provided,*
5 That the wages recommended shall not be less than at the
6 rate of $1.25 an hour or the rate prescribed in the wage order
7 then applicable to such occupation, whichever is higher.

8 "(e) The committee report may include, but shall not
9 be limited to, recommendations for permissible allowances
10 for board, lodging, apparel, or other facilities or services,
11 customarily furnished by the employer to the employees, or
12 reasonable allowances for gratuities customarily received by
13 employees in any occupation in which gratuities have custo-
14 marily and usually constituted and have been recognized as
15 a part of the remuneration for hiring purposes. The com-
16 mittee may make a separate inquiry into and report on any
17 branch of any occupation and may recommend different
18 minimum wages for such branch of employment in the same
19 occupation.

20 "(f) In the event any such committee fails to submit a
21 report to the Board within the period specified in subsection
22 (d), the Board may discharge such committee from further
23 consideration of the subject submitted to it and convene a
24 new committee for the purpose of considering such subject,
25 or the Board itself may undertake to consider the subject

1 and proceed to prepare and publish a revised wage order
2 for the occupation in accordance with the procedure in
3 section 6.

4 "SEC. 6. (a) Upon receipt of the report from any ad
5 hoc advisory committee, or upon the discharge of such com-
6 mittee, in accordance with section 5 (f), the Board may pre-
7 pare a proposed revised wage order for the occupation, giv-
8 ing due consideration to any recommendations contained in
9 any report of such committee. In such order the Board may
10 provide, among other things, such allowances and classifica-
11 tions as are referred to in section 5 (e). The Board shall
12 publish a notice once a week, for four successive weeks, in a
13 newspaper of general circulation printed in the District of
14 Columbia, stating that it will, on a date and at a place named
15 in the notice, hold a public hearing at which all interested
16 persons will be given a reasonable opportunity to be heard.
17 Such notice shall contain a summary of the major provisions
18 of the proposed revised wage order.

19 "(b) Within thirty days after such hearing, the Board
20 may make such an order as may be proper or necessary
21 to effectuate the purposes of this Act. Notice of such
22 order shall be published in a newspaper of general circula-
23 tion printed in the District of Columbia and such order shall
24 take effect upon the expiration of sixty days after the date
25 on which such order was made by the Board.

1 "(c) Orders issued under this section shall define the
2 occupation and classifications therein to which they are to
3 apply, and shall contain such terms and conditions as the
4 Board finds necessary to carry out the purposes of such
5 orders, to prevent the circumvention or evasion thereof,
6 and to safeguard the minimum wage established therein.

7 "ADMINISTRATIVE REGULATIONS

8 "SEC. 7. The Board of Commissioners of the District of
9 Columbia shall make and revise such regulations, including
10 definition of terms, as it may deem appropriate to carry
11 out the purposes of this Act or necessary to prevent the
12 circumvention or evasion thereof and to safeguard the mini-
13 mum wage rates and the overtime provisions thereby estab-
14 lished. Such regulations may include regulations defining
15 and governing learners and apprentices, their number, pro-
16 portion, length of service and rates of pay (except that
17 such rates shall be not less than 80 per centum of the mini-
18 mum wage prescribed in section 3(a) of this Act), and
19 regulations defining and governing the employment of handi-
20 capped workers and students. Such regulations may also
21 include, but are not limited to, regulations governing piece
22 rates, bonuses, and commissions in relation to time rates;
23 part-time rates; minimum daily wages; wage provisions
24 governing split shift and excessive spread of hours; pro-
25 visions governing uniforms, tools, travel, and other items

1 of expense incurred by employees as a condition of employ-
2 ment; permitted allowance for board, lodging, or services
3 customarily furnished by employers to employees; allowances
4 for gratuities in any occupation in which gratuities have
5 customarily and usually constituted and have been recognized
6 as a part of the remuneration for hiring purposes; or allow-
7 ances for such other special conditions or circumstances
8 which may be usual in a particular employer-employee re-
9 lationship. Regulations or revisions thereof issued by the
10 Board of Commissioners pursuant to this section shall be
11 made only after a public hearing by such Board, subsequent
12 to publication of a notice of the hearing at which interested
13 persons may be heard. Such regulations or revision shall,
14 except as may otherwise be provided by such Board, take
15 effect upon the expiration of thirty days after the date on
16 which such regulations and revisions were made by such
17 Board of Commissioners.

18 "JUDICIAL REVIEW

19 "SEC. 8. (a) Any interested person in an occupation
20 for which any wage order or administrative regulation has
21 been issued under the provisions of this Act, who may be
22 aggrieved by any such order or regulation, may obtain a
23 review thereof in the United States District Court for the
24 District of Columbia by filing in such court, within thirty
25 days after the date on which such order or regulation was

1 made, a written petition praying that the order or regulation
2 be modified or set aside. A copy of such petition shall be
3 served upon the Board or the Board of Commissioners issu-
4 ing such order or regulation. In such an action all findings
5 of fact under the foregoing provisions of this Act shall, if
6 based on evidence, be conclusive upon the court, and there
7 shall be no appeals from the decision of any such Board
8 on any such findings of fact. The court may, however,
9 determine whether the order or regulation is in accordance
10 with law. If the court determines that such order or
11 regulation is not in accordance with law, it shall remand
12 the case to the issuing Board with directions to modify or
13 revoke such order or regulation. If application is made to
14 the court for leave to adduce additional evidence by any
15 aggrieved party, such party shall show to the satisfaction
16 of the court that such additional evidence is material and
17 that there were reasonable grounds for the failure to adduce
18 such evidence before such Board. If the court finds that
19 such evidence is material and that reasonable grounds exist
20 for failure of the aggrieved party to adduce such evidence in
21 prior proceedings, the court may remand the case to that
22 Board with directions that such additional evidence be taken
23 before it, and such Board may modify such order or regula-
24 tion, in whole or in part, by reason of such additional
25 evidence.

1 "(b) Hearings in such court on all appeals taken under
2 the provisions of this Act shall be privileged and take prece-
3 dence over all matters except matters of the same character.
4 The jurisdiction of the court shall be exclusive and its judg-
5 ment and decree shall be final except that the same shall be
6 subject to review by the United States Court of Appeals for
7 the District of Columbia. In all such appeals the corporation
8 counsel shall appear for and represent such Board.

9 "(c) The commencement of proceedings under subsec-
10 tion (a) shall not, unless specifically ordered by the court,
11 operate as a stay of a wage order or of a regulation issued
12 under the provisions of this Act. The court shall not grant
13 any stay of a wage order or of a regulation unless the person
14 complaining of such order or regulation shall file in the court
15 an undertaking with a surety or sureties satisfactory to the
16 court for the payment to the employees affected by the
17 order or regulation, in the event such order or regulation is
18 affirmed, of the amount by which the compensation such
19 employees are entitled to receive under the wage order or
20 regulation exceeds the compensation they actually receive
21 while such stay is in effect.

22 "AUTHORITY TO TAKE TESTIMONY SUBPENAS

23 "SEC. 9. Any member of the Board shall have power
24 to administer oaths and the Board may require by subpena
25 the attendance and testimony of witnesses, the production

1 of all books, registers, and other evidence relative to any
2 matters under investigation, at any public hearing or at any
3 meeting of any committee or for the use of the Board in se-
4 curing compliance with this Act. In case of disobedience
5 to a subpena the Board may invoke the aid of the United
6 States District Court for the District of Columbia in re-
7 quiring the attendance and testimony of witnesses and the
8 production of documentary evidence. In case of contumacy
9 or refusal to obey a subpena the court may issue an order
10 requiring appearance before the Board, the production of
11 documentary evidence, and the giving of evidence, and any
12 failure to obey such order of the court may be punished by
13 such court as a contempt thereof.

14 "EXEMPTIONS

15 "SEC. 10. (a) The minimum wage and overtime provi-
16 sions of section 3 shall not apply with respect to—

17 "(1) any employee employed in a bona fide execu-
18 tive, administrative, or professional capacity, or in the
19 capacity of outside salesman (as such terms are defined
20 and delimited from time to time by regulations of the
21 Board); or

22 "(2) any employee engaged in the delivery of
23 newspapers to the home of the consumer.

24 "(b) The overtime provisions of section 3 (b) shall not
25 apply with respect to—

1 "(1) any employee employed as a seaman; or

2 "(2) any employee employed by a railroad.

3 "KEEPING OF RECORDS

4 "SEC. 11. (a) Every employer subject to any provision
5 of this Act or of any regulation or order issued under this
6 Act shall make, keep, and preserve for a period of not
7 less than three years a record of the name, address, and oc-
8 cupation of each of his employees, a record of the date of
9 birth of any employee under nineteen years of age, the rate
10 of pay, and the amount paid each pay period to each such
11 employee, the hours worked each day and each workweek
12 by such employee, and such other records or information as
13 the Board shall prescribe by regulation as necessary or ap-
14 propriate for the enforcement of the provisions of this Act
15 or of the regulations or orders thereunder. Such records
16 shall be open and made available for inspection or transcrip-
17 tion by the Board or its authorized representative at any rea-
18 sonable time. Every such employer shall furnish to the
19 Board or to its authorized representative on demand a sworn
20 statement of such records and information upon forms pre-
21 scribed or approved by the Board.

22 "(b) Every employer shall furnish to each employee at
23 the time of payment of wages an itemized statement show-
24 ing the date of the wage payment, gross wages paid, deduc-
25 tions from and additions to wages, net wages paid, hours

1 worked during the pay period, and any other information as
2 the Board may prescribe by regulation.

3 "POSTING OF LAW AND WAGE ORDERS

4 "SEC. 12. Every employer subject to any provision of
5 this Act or of any regulation or order issued under this Act
6 shall keep a copy or summary of this Act and of any ap-
7 plicable wage order and regulation issued thereunder, in a
8 form prescribed or approved by the Board, posted in a con-
9 spicuous and accessible place in or about the premises where-
10 in any employee covered thereby is employed. Employers
11 shall be furnished such copies or summaries by the Board
12 on request without charge.

13 "PROHIBITED ACTS

14 "SEC. 13. It shall be unlawful for any employer—

15 "(1) to violate any of the provisions of section 3, or
16 any of the provisions of any regulation or order issued
17 under this Act;

18 "(2) to violate any of the provisions of section 12
19 or 13, or any regulation or order made or continued in
20 effect under the provisions of section 7, or to make any
21 statement, report, or record filed or kept pursuant to the
22 provisions of such section or of any regulation or order
23 thereunder, knowing such statement, report, or record to
24 be false in a material respect;

1 "(3) to discharge or in any other manner discrimi-
2 nate against any employee because such employee has
3 filed any complaint or instituted or caused to be in-
4 stituted any proceeding under or related to this Act, or
5 has testified or is about to testify in any such proceeding
6 or has served or is about to serve on any ad hoc ad-
7 visory committee;

8 "(4) to hinder or delay the Board or its authorized
9 representative in the performance of its duties in the
10 enforcement of this Act, or to refuse to admit the Board
11 or its authorized representative to any place of employ-
12 ment, or to refuse to make available to the Board or its
13 authorized representative, upon demand, any record
14 required to be made, kept, or preserved under this Act,
15 or to fail to post a summary or copy of this Act or of any
16 applicable regulation or order, as required under section
17 12.

18 "PENALTIES

19 "SEC. 14. Any person who willfully violates any of the
20 provisions of section 13 shall upon conviction thereof be
21 subject to a fine of not more than $10,000, or to imprison-
22 ment of not more than six months, or both. No person shall
23 be imprisoned under this section except for an offense com-
24 mitted after the conviction of such person for a prior offense

1 under this section. Prosecutions for violations of this Act
2 shall be conducted by the corporation counsel of the District
3 of Columbia.

4 "EMPLOYEE REMEDIES

5 "SEC. 15. (a) Any employer who pays any employee
6 less than the wage to which such employee is entitled under
7 this Act or any order or regulation issued thereunder, shall
8 be liable to such employee in the amount of such unpaid
9 wages, and in an additional equal amount as liquidated
10 damages, except that if, in any action commenced to recover
11 such unpaid wages or liquidated damages, the employer
12 shows to the satisfaction of the court that the act or omission
13 giving rise to such action was in good faith and that he
14 had reasonable grounds for believing that his act or omission
15 was not a violation of this Act, the court may, in its sound
16 discretion, award no liquidated damages, or award any
17 amount thereof not to exceed the amount specified in this
18 section. Action to recover such liability may be maintained
19 in any court of competent jurisdiction in the District of
20 Columbia by any one or more employees for and in behalf of
21 himself or themselves and other employees similarly situated.
22 No employee shall be a party plaintiff to any such action un-
23 less he gives his consent in writing to become such a party
24 and such consent is filed in the court in which such action
25 is brought. The court in such action shall allow a reason-

1 able attorney's fee to be paid by the defendant, and costs of
2 the action. Any agreement between an employer and an
3 employee to work for less than the wages to which such
4 employee is entitled under this Act or any order or regulation
5 issued thereunder shall be no defense to any action to recover
6 such unpaid wages or liquidated damages.

7 "(b) At the written request of any employee paid less
8 than the wage to which such employee is entitled under this
9 Act or any order or regulation issued thereunder, the Board
10 may take an assignment of such wage claim in trust for the
11 assigning employee and may bring any legal action neces-
12 sary to collect such claim. In such an action, the defendant
13 shall be required to pay the costs and such reasonable
14 attorney's fees as may be allowed by the court.

15 "(c) The Board is authorized to supervise the payment
16 of the unpaid wages owing to any employee under this Act
17 or any order or regulation issued thereunder, and the agree-
18 ment of any employee to accept such payment shall upon
19 payment in full constitute a waiver by such employee of any
20 right he may have under subsection (a) of this section to
21 such unpaid wages and an additional equal amount as liqui-
22 dated damages.

23 "STATUTE OF LIMITATIONS

24 "SEC. 16. Any action commenced on or after the effec-
25 tive date of the Minimum Wage Amendments Act of 1963

1 to enforce any cause of action for unpaid wages or liquidated
2 damages, under this Act or any order or regulation issued
3 thereunder may be commenced within three years after the
4 cause of action accrued, and every such action shall be for-
5 ever barred unless commenced within three years after the
6 cause of action accrued.

7 "RIGHT OF COLLECTIVE BARGAINING

8 "SEC. 17. Nothing in this Act shall be deemed to inter-
9 fere with, impede, or in any way diminish the right of em-
10 ployees to bargain collectively with their employers through
11 representatives of their own choosing in order to establish
12 wages or other conditions of work in excess of the standards
13 applicable under the provisions of this Act.

14 "SEPARABILITY OF PROVISIONS

15 "SEC. 18. If any provision of this Act, or the application
16 thereof to any person or circumstances, is held invalid, the
17 remainder of the Act and the application thereof to other
18 persons or circumstances shall not be affected thereby."

19 SEC. 2. (a) Except as provided in subsection (b), the
20 amendments made by this Act shall take effect upon the
21 expiration of one hundred and eighty days after the date
22 of its enactment.

23 (b) Notwithstanding the provisions of subsection (a),
24 the authority to promulgate necessary rules, regulations, and
25 orders with regard to amendments made by this Act may be

1 exercised by the Board and the Board of Commissioners
2 on and after the date of enactment of this Act. The modi-
3 fications of existing wage orders and regulations and the
4 issuance of one or more new wage orders and regulations
5 necessary to comply with the provisions of section 3 of the
6 Act of September 19, 1918 (40 Stat. 960), as amended
7 by this Act, shall be effected in advance of the effective date
8 of the amendments made by this Act and shall become
9 operative on such date.

10 SEC. 3. No amendments made by this Act shall be
11 deemed to amend, rescind, or otherwise affect any provi-
12 sion of law of the District of Columbia or any regulation or
13 order issued thereunder which, on the date immediately
14 prior to the effective date of the amendments made by this
15 Act, prescribes additional or more favorable standards re-
16 lating to minimum wages, maximum hours, overtime com-
17 pensation, or other working conditions than those provided
18 for by the amendments made by this Act or by any regula-
19 tion or order issued thereunder. Any regulation or order
20 preserved by this section may be revised from time to time
21 under the procedures provided for by the amendments made
22 by this Act. The enforcement procedures and penalties for
23 violations prescribed in the amendments made by this Act
24 shall apply with respect to violations of any regulation or
25 order preserved by this section.

1 AUTHORITY TO DELEGATE FUNCTIONS

2 SEC. 4. No amendments made by this Act shall be con-
3 strued so as to affect the authority vested in the Board of
4 Commissioners of the District of Columbia by Reorganiza-
5 tion Plan Numbered 5 of 1952 (66 Stat. 824). The per-
6 formance of any function vested by this Act in the Board
7 of Commissioners or in any office or agency under the juris-
8 diction and control of said Board of Commissioners may be
9 delegated by said Board of Commissioners in accordance
10 with section 3 of such Plan.

11 SEC. 5. This Act may be cited as the "Minimum Wage
12 Amendments Act of 1963".

88TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

S. 860

A BILL

To amend the District of Columbia minimum wage law to provide broader coverage, improved standards of minimum wage and overtime compensation protection, and improved means of enforcement.

By Mr. MORSE

FEBRUARY 19, 1963

Read twice and referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia

STATEMENT OF SIDNEY C. JONES

On Sunday, September 8, 1963, I, accompanied by a lady friend and my son Jack visited the Marumsco Hills housing development near Woodbridge, Virginia. We inspected each of the model homes and considered the "Hyltonian Frame" model as most attractive. We noticed the price before the model as $21,560. We entered the Information Center and Sales Office and we were approached by a salesperson who identified himself as John W. Woodard Sr. Mr. Woodard escorted us into his office and inquired as to our interest. After a short discussion of our interest, Mr. Woodard personally escorted us around to the various models, indicating those that were still for sale. Since Mr. Woodard informed us that we must decide upon one model, since financing must be discussed, we indicated our choice was the "Hyltonian Frame". Mr. Woodard then told us that we must choose a lot site and that corner lots were $250 more than other lots. We chose a corner lot. We then returned to the office.

We inquired as to when we would be able to occupy a home. Mr. Woodard stated it would take approximately 60 days, pointing out that the house of the type we selected would not be ready for occupancy before settlement and that this would take about two months. When we asked about the down payment, we were given a typed price list showing the required down payment under FHA financing to be $1360. We inquired as to air conditioning and Mr. Woodard informed us that it would cost $850 above the advertised price of the house. We were also told at this time that both the range and the refrigerator were extra cost items, but Mr. Woodard then "on second thought" stated that only the refrigerator was extra cost, at $190. When we inquired about swimming facilities Mr. Woodard stated that the local swimming pool was closed but that we could use the Potomac River which was "over beyond the trees."

Mr. Woodard demanded detailed information about our financial resources, and after he copied all of it down asked me to sign the sheet. I signed it

STATEMENT OF SIDNEY C. JONES (2)

"Sidney C. Johnson." Mr. Woodard then informed me that he would send all the information to Weaver Bros. mortgage lenders, who would finance the loan. We requested more information about the lender and were informed that Weaver Bros. is the only other means of financing (aside cash) available. Mr. Woodard further stated that the Hylton organization is committed to Weaver Bros. for each of the housing units in the development. I stated that I would wish to select my own financing agency, but Mr. Woodard stated that as far as he knew this is not possible insofar as his firm is committed to Weaver Bros., but other arrangements might be made if his lawyers agreed. Accordingly, Mr. Woodard stated that he would have to discuss this with his lawyers but he held out a little or no hope. Mr. Woodard stated he would call us the next day.

Sidney C. Jones

Sidney C. Jones

Statement by JULIUS W. HOBSON,

President, Washington CORE,

before the Subcommittee on Public Health, Education, Welfare and Safety,
Senate District Committee,

Washington, D.C., October 4, 1963

My name is Julius W. Hobson, and I am testifying tonight on behalf of the Washington Congress of Racial Equality, of which I am President. The Congress of Racial Equality, or CORE as it is known, is an organization dedicated to the attainment of full equality for all Americans regardless of race. I am testifying here because in the District of Columbia the issue of an adequate minimum wage goes to the heart of the struggle for racial equality.

CORE was initially content to leave the task of testifying for this bill, S860, to organizations more accustomed to the legislative approach, and with a more apparent interest in the narrow economic aspects of this bill. But it never occurred to us as possible that a responsible official of the city, supposedly speaking for all the citizens of the city, would appear before you to advocate the emasculation of the proposed legislation.

The economic arguments for this bill are known to the members of this Committee. Experience with minimum wages is widespread enough in this country that no one seriously believes decent wages cause unemployment or hurt business. The realities of economic life are well enough known that no one believes the minimum proposed, $1.25 an hour, is adequate even for a single person who must support only himself, let alone for the head of a family.

Earlier this summer a Federal agency, Washington Action for Youth, asked local firms to hire school children at this figure, to enable them to return to school in the fall. A wage of $1.25 an hour represents $50 a week, or $2,600 a year, before taxes and other deductions, and in Washington, D.C., that income spells poverty. When a man is forced to work for this income, or less, the costs to society are terrible. His wife is forced to work in order to meet the barest minimal needs. If she must pay someone to care for the children, her work is virtual slavery; if she can have her children cared for at public expense, the exploitative wages are being underwritten by the taxpayer. If she has 3 or 4 children and no husband, she can do as well on welfare, and, indeed, should not consider going to work.

Let us be honest about this. In this city, wages of $1.25 or less are, for all practical purposes, wages for Negroes and Negroes alone. It is true, of course, that in some apartment buildings elderly white pensioners supplement their meager incomes by part-time work at wages so low that no head of a family can take

such jobs. In these cases, and in the case of low-paid night-time cleaning jobs which are held by "moonlighters," persons already working at substandard wages during the day, low wages tend to increase unemployment. There are many jobs that no one can afford to take as the sole source of income. Decent wages would remove these jobs from the supplemental income class, and they could be taken by persons now unemployed.

A minimum wage for all persons in the District of Columbia, male and female, is long overdue. The figure of $1.25 an hour for a 40-hour week is a modest beginning. CORE looks forward to the adoption in 1964 of a minimum of $2.00 an hour, as advocated by the March on Washington Committee. That itself is a modest enough figure, and I will warrant you there is not a person in this room who can conceive of maintaining a family on $80.00 a week.

I would like to dwell on one other aspect of low wages, which underlines the way in which it is a civil rights issue. Low wages for the head of the family is a major factor forcing Negro women into the low-paid and uncontrolled occupation of domestic service. Negro women go out to the suburbs and, by working for $30 to $40 a week, enable the wife to leave her children and, often, a bedridden parent, and come down into the city to work for $100 a week or more. Only by making this kind of profit on Negro misery and poverty have many whites been able to afford nice homes in the suburbs.

Low-paid Negroes have thus paid for most of the best homes in the suburbs, from which Negroes are barred by discrimination, while they and their children are crowded into the noisome slums of the central city. A decent minimum wage will either create jobs, by drying up the supply of domestics and forcing suburban wives to stay home and care for their children, or it will cause an increase in the wages paid to domestics, and bring more of that suburban money back into the city where it was earned, and where it belongs. Either way, it will benefit the economy of Washington itself.

In closing, one word about the length of the work week. The 40-hour week has long been the standard, but the trend today is toward the 35-hour week, which will also create jobs. This bill would be better if it provided for a $1.43 minimum for a 35-hour week, but it is fantastic to advocate a 42-hour week. To advocate a 42-hour week is simply a device for arguing for a 40-hour week with a proviso for 2 hours overtime at straight pay. It has been suggested to you that you emasculate this bill. CORE hopes you treat the suggestion with the disdain it deserves.

I thank you for the opportunity to testify here tonight.

###

Here's How To Prepare For Election

By Paul A. Schuette
Staff Reporter

WASHINGTON is a city of professional politics. But when it comes to elections and voting here, Washington is an amateur.

This year local residents will be able to vote for the first time in a presidential election since 1800. The city's potential voters have questions galore about the election, particularly those residents who are covered by the Hatch Act as Federal or District employes.

Some of those questions are answered below on the basis of information provided by the District Elections Board and the Civil Service Commission. Voters who want additional information may call the Elections Board at DI 7-5548.

Q. When are the District elections?

A. The presidential election will be Nov. 3. Only the names of candidates for President and Vice President will appear on the ballot. The party primary elections will be May 5. Voters of each party will elect officers and convention delegates and vote on certain questions put on the ballot by the party organizations.

Q. Who is eligible to vote?

A. You may vote if you meet all of the following requirements:

- You must be a citizen of the United States.
- You must have lived in the District of Columbia for one year prior to the day of the election in which you seek to vote.
- You must not claim voting residence in any state or territory; you cannot vote in the District and at the same time claim the right to vote elsewhere.
- You must be at least 21 years old on the day of the election in which you will vote.
- You must have registered in 1964.

Persons who have been convicted of a felony in the United States are not eligible to vote unless pardoned. Persons found mentally incompetent by a court also are ineligible.

Q. Must one have special documents to register?

A. No. An applicant is required to swear or affirm that he meets the requirements listed above and supply his name and address. Anyone who cannot write may make his mark.

Q. Why must I register?

A. You must register to show that you are eligible to vote, and so officials at your polling place will be able to identify you on election day.

Q. When and where do I register?

A. The central registration office in Room 8 of the District Building, 14th and E sts. nw., is open from 8:30 a.m. to 6 p.m., Monday through Friday.

Registration also will be conducted in each of the City's 91 precincts on five weekends preceding the primary, starting next Friday and Saturday. The other dates for neighborhood registration are Feb. 28-29, March 6-7, March 13-14 and March 20-21.

The hours for neighborhood registration will be from 1 to 9 p.m. on Friday and from 10 a.m. to 9 p.m. on Saturday.

Q. Must I register in the precinct in which I live?

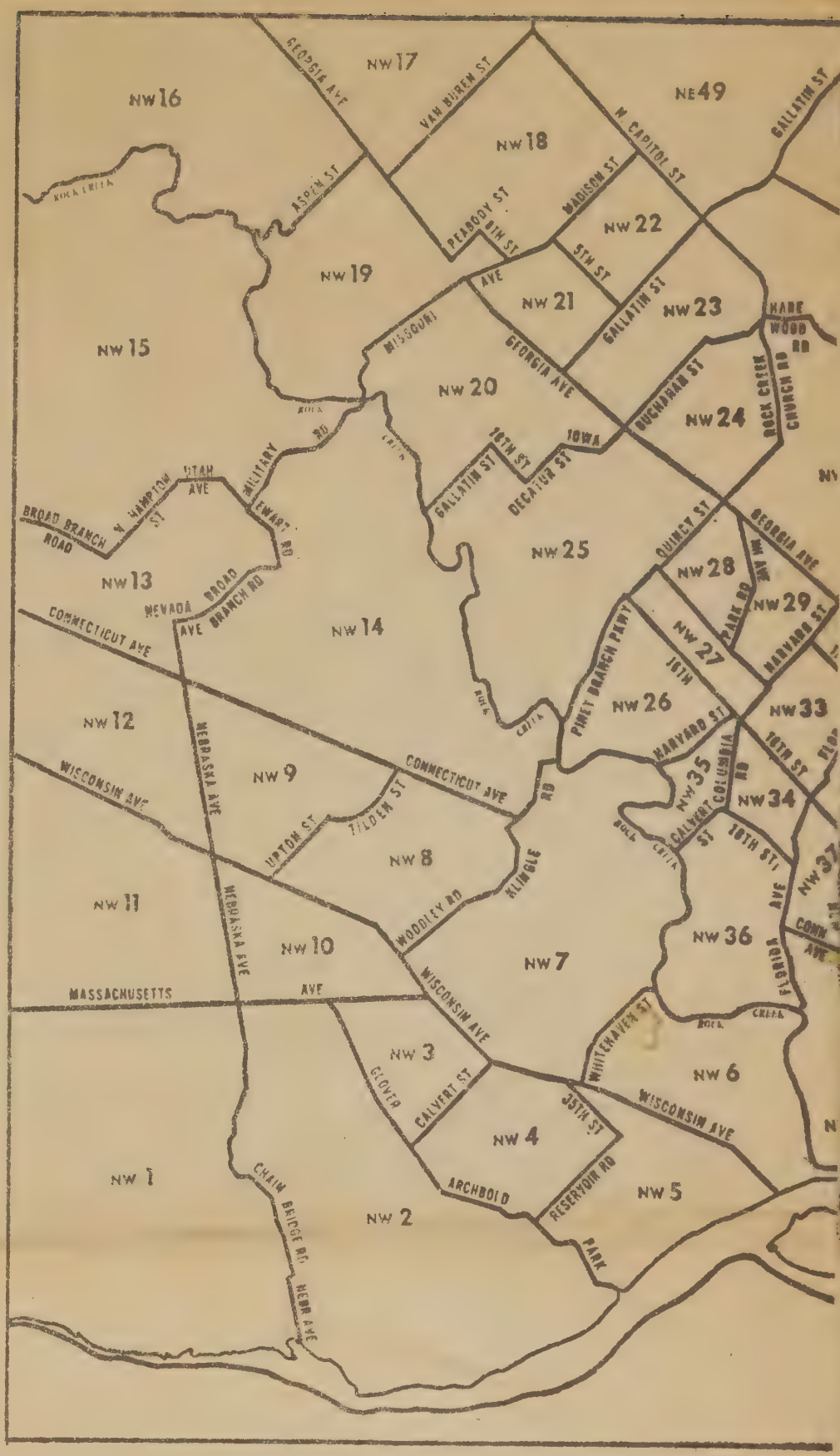
A. Voters may register only in their home precincts or at the central registration office.

To locate your neighborhood registration branch, find your precinct number on the adjoining map and refer to the key for the address.

The locations used for registration generally will serve as polling places on election day as well.

Q. If I registered for the primary election held in 1960, must I register again?

A. Yes. No registration before 1964 is valid.



Here are the addresses of registration places.

NW-1, Palisades Recreation Center, Dana and Sherrier pl. nw.
NW-2, Hardy Recreation Center, 45th and O sts. nw.
NW-3, St. Alban's Church, Wisconsin and Massachusetts aves. nw.
NW-4, Western High School, 35th and R sts. nw.
NW-5, Gordon Junior High School, 35th and T sts. nw
NW-6, Keith Hall in Christ Church, 31st and O sts. nw.
NW-7, Oyster School, 29th and Calvert sts. nw.
NW-8, Eaton School Auditorium, 34th and Lowell sts nw.
NW-9, Murch School Auditorium, 36th and Ellicott sts nw.
NW-10, National Cathedral School for Girls, Wisconsin ave. and Woodley rd. nw.
NW-11, Janney School, Wisconsin ave. and Albemarle st. nw.
NW-12, Wilson Senior High School, Chesapeake st. between Fort dr. and Nebraska ave. nw.
NW-13, Chevy Chase Community Center, Connecticut ave. and Northampton st. nw.
NW-14, Cleveland Park Library, Connecticut ave. and Macomb st. nw.
NW-15, Lafayette School, Broad Branch rd. and Northampton st. nw.
NW-16, Shepherd School, 14th st. and Kalmia rd. nw.
NW-17, Takoma School, Piney Branch rd. and Dahlia st. nw.
NW-18, Coolidge High School, 5th and Tuckerman sts. nw.
NW-19, Paul Junior High School, 8th and Oglethorpe sts. nw.
NW-20, Brightwood School, 13th and Nicholson sts. nw.
NW-21, Truesdell School, 8th and Ingraham sts. nw.
NW-22, Rudolph School, 2d and Hamilton sts. nw.
NW-23, Barnard School, Decatur st. between 4th and 5th sts. nw.
NW-24, Petworth School, 8th and Shepherd sts. nw.
NW-25, Roosevelt High School, 13th and Shepherd sts. nw.
NW-26, Bancroft School, 18th and Newton sts. nw.
NW-27, Bell Vocational School, Hiatt pl. between Irving st. and Park rd. nw.
NW-28, Raymond School, 10th st. and Spring rd. nw.
NW-29, Monroe School, Columbia rd. between Georgia and Sherman aves. nw.
NW-30, Park View School, Warder and Newton sts. nw.
NW-31, Katie C. Lewis School, 300 Bryant st. nw.
NW-32, Banneker Recreation Center, Euclid st. between Georgia and Sheridan aves. nw.
NW-33, Cardozo Senior High School, 13th and Clifton sts. nw.
NW-34, Morgan School, V st. between Champlain and 18th sts. nw.
NW-35, H. D. Cooke School, 17th and Euclid sts. nw.
NW-36, Adams School, 19th and California sts. nw.
NW-37, Roosevelt Hotel, 2101 16th st. nw.
NW-38, Garnett Patterson Junior High School, 10th and U sts. nw.
NW-39, Foundry Methodist Church, 16th and P sts. nw.
NW-40, Jewish Community Center, Q st. entrance, 16 and Q sts. nw.
NW-41, Metropolitan Baptist Church, 1225 R st. nw.
NW-42, Phyllis Wheatley YWCA, 9th st. and Rhode Island ave. nw.
NW-43, Bundy School, 420 O st. nw.
NW-44, Dunbar High School, 1st and N sts. nw.
NW-45, Terrell Junior High School, 1st and Pierce sts. nw.

Q. Must I declare my party affiliation when registering?

A. You must declare your party affiliation to be eligible to vote in the May primary. If you wish to vote only in the November presidential election, you need not list your party. The choice is the voter's.

Q. What if I move to another precinct within the District after registering?

A. You may vote in your former precinct or, if registration is still open, you may contact the Elections Board to have your address changed.

Q. Who is covered by the Hatch Act?

A. Except for a few specific exemptions, the Act covers all Federal and District workers, including part-time and temporary employes.

Q. What are the rights and responsibilities of these employes?

A. They have the right to vote and to express their political opinions, but are forbidden to take an active part in partisan political campaigns. The Civil Service Commission has emphasized that this restriction does not relieve employes of their obligation as citizens to inform themselves of the issues and to register and vote.

Q. May a Government employe declare his party affiliation when registering?

A. Yes.

Q. May he participate in non-partisan registration drives?

A. Yes. He may also take part in registration drives conducted by political parties as long as he seeks to register voters without regard to their party affiliation.

Q. May a Government employe attend political rallies and join political clubs?

A. Yes, but he cannot take an active

NW-46, St. John's on Lafayette Square parish house.
NW-47, Concordia United Church of Christ, 1920 G st. nw.
NW-48, Francis Junior High School, 24th and N sts. nw.
NE-49, Jessie LaSalle School, Riggs rd. and Madison st. ne.
NE-50, Archbishop Carroll High School, 4300 Harewood rd. ne.
NE-51, Backus Junior High School, South Dakota ave. and Hamilton st. ne.
NE-52, Bunker Hill School, 14th st. and Michigan ave. ne.
NE-53, Taft Junior High School, 19th and Jerry sts. ne.
NE-54, Slowe School, 14th and Jackson sts. ne.
NE-55, Langdon School, 20th and [illegible] sts. ne.
NE-56, Brookland Junior High School, 14th st. and Bennett pl. ne.
NE-57, [illegible] St., Webb School, Mt. Olivet rd. and [illegible] st. ne.
NE-58, Wheatley School, Montello ave. and Neal st. ne.
NE-59, Noyes School, 10th and Franklin sts. ne.
NE-60, McKinley High School, 2d and T sts. ne.
NE-61, J. O. Wilson School, 7th and K sts. ne.
NE-62, Spingarn School, 19th and F sts. ne.
NE-63, Stuart Junior High School, 4th and E sts. ne.
NE-64, Gompers School, 17th and B sts. ne.
NE-65, Eliot Junior High School, 19th st. and Constitution ave. ne.
NE-66, Western Senior High School, 24th st. and Benning rd. ne.
NE-67, River Terrace School, 34th and Dix sts. ne.
NE-68, Kenilworth School, 44th st. between Nash and Old sts. ne.
NE-69, C. H. Houston School, 56th pl. and Lee st. ne.
NE-70, Woodson Junior High School, Minnesota ave. and Foote st. ne.
NE-71, Miller Junior High School, 49th and Brooks sts. ne.
NE-72, Evans Junior High School, 3408 E. Capitol st. ne.
SE-73, Tyler School, 18th and G sts. se.
SE-74, Bryan School, Independence ave. between 13th and 14th sts. se.
SE-75, Catherine Watkins School, 12th and E sts. se.
SE-76, Payne Elementary School, 15th and C sts. se.
SE-77, Sousa Junior High School, 37th st. and Ely pl. se.
SE-78, Davis School, [illegible] pl. and H st. se.
[illegible]
[illegible], Beers School, Alabama ave. and 20th pl. se.
SE-83, Ketcham School, 15th and U sts. se.
SE-84, Garfield School, Alabama ave. and 25th st. se.
SE-85, Douglas Junior High School, Pomeroy and Stanton rds. se.
SE-86, Turner School, Stanton rd. and Alabama ave. se.
SE-87, Draper School, Wahler pl. between Wheeler rd. and 4th st. se.
SE-88, Ballou Senior High School, 34th and 4th st. se.
[illegible]
SE-90, Fa[illegible] School, 3. Capitol st. between Danbury and Ely[illegible] sts. se.
SW-91, Bowen School, Delaware ave. and M st. sw.

part in the conduct of the rally or operation of the club.

Q. May an employe covered by the Hatch Act wear a campaign button?

A. Yes. He also may display political posters or stickers in the windows of his home or on his car.

Q. May he make a campaign contribution to his party?

A. Yes, but he cannot be required to do so. He cannot solicit contributions, however, nor make a donation in a Government building.

Q. May he write a letter to a newspaper, expressing his opinion on a partisan issue?

A. Yes, as long as he does not solicit votes for any political party or candidate.

Q. May a Government employe's wife take an active part in a political campaign?

A. Yes. The Hatch Act does not restrict in any way the activities of an employe's wife or other members of his family.

Q. How may a voter register who is physically unable to appear at a registration office?

A. He should notify the Elections Board by letter, listing his full name and address and enclosing a certificate of disability from his doctor or nurse.

Q. May residents who are absent from the District register by mail?

A. Only persons designated in the Federal Voting Assistance Act, such as people on active duty with the armed forces or Federal employes outside the country, may register while away from Washington. College students are not eligible to register by mail.

Q. Who may vote an absentee ballot?

A. In the May 5 primary, absentee ballots will be [illegible] to persons designated in the Federal Voting Assistance Act.

In the November presidential election, any registered voter who [illegible] from Washington on election day [illegible] vote by absentee ballot.

Voters physically unable to get [illegible] their polling place may vote by absentee ballot in either the primary [illegible] general election.

Q. What is the deadline for registering?

A. To be eligible to vote in the May 5 primary, voters must register on or before March 21. The District election law stipulates that all registration offices must be closed for 45 days prior to each election.

The central registration office will re-open May 6 to enroll voters for the November election. Registration will be conducted again in each precinct on five weeks preceding the [illegible] 19 deadline.

Voters who registered before the primary need not register again for the presidential election.

June 19, 1963

FAIR HOUSING PRACTICES REGULATION PROPOSED FOR ADOPTION BY THE BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

FINDINGS OF FACT

The Commissioners find:

(1) that discrimination on account of race in the sale and leasing of housing accommodations exists and is practiced individually and collectively by real estate dealers, owners, lessors and others;

(2) that housing available to Negroes reflects crowding and poorer living conditions for the same or greater rent as that available to white persons;

(3) that there is a clear relationship between poor housing conditions and the health and comfort of the occupants, and the effects of such conditions also constitute a danger to the property of both whites and Negroes;

(4) that discrimination in housing results in, or is likely to result in, danger to the lives, limbs, health, comfort, quiet and property of the inhabitants of the District of Columbia;

(5) that there are many Negroes who are economically capable of occupying better quality housing in the District of Columbia which would be available to them in the absence of discrimination;

(6) that discontinuance of discrimination in housing will materially alleviate the evils above enumerated.

Inasmuch as efforts to secure an end to housing and real estate discrimination by voluntary private action have been unsuccessful, action by the government of the District of

June 19, 1951

FAIR HOUSING [illegible]
FOR ADOPTION BY THE BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS
[illegible] DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

FINDINGS OF FACT

The Commissioners find:

(1) that discrimination on account of race in the sale and leasing of housing accommodations exists and is practiced individually and collectively by real estate dealers, owners, lessors and others;

(2) that housing available to Negroes reflects crowding and poorer living conditions for the same or greater rent as that available to whites;

(3) that there is a close relationship between poor housing conditions and the health and comfort of the occupants, and the effects of such conditions also constitute a danger to the property of both whites and [illegible];

(4) that discrimination in housing results in, or is likely to result in, danger to the lives, limbs, health, comfort, quiet and property of the inhabitants of the District of Columbia;

(5) that there are many Negroes who are economically capable of occupying better quality housing in the District of Columbia which would be available to them in the absence of discrimination;

(6) that discontinuance of discrimination in housing will materially alleviate the evils above enumerated.

Inasmuch as efforts to secure an end to housing and real estate discrimination by voluntary private action have been unsuccessful, action by the government of the District of

Columbia to secure that end is required. Therefore, in exercise of their authority and powers under Sections 1-102, 1-103, 1-226, 1-237, 1-224a, 1-244, 45-1401 to 1418, 47-2328, 47-2344, 47-2345, and 47-2347 of the District of Columbia Code, 1961 edition, and other provisions of law, the Commissioners hereby issue these regulations.

I. DEFINITIONS

101. As used in this regulation,

(a) "Transfer an interest in real property" shall mean to show, offer, list, negotiate, agree to transfer, or transfer, whether by sale, lease, sublease, rent, assignment, or other agreement, any interest in real property or improvements thereon.

(b) "For a discriminatory reason" shall mean because of race, color, religion, ancestry, nationality, or national origin, or because of any reason that would not have been asserted but for race, color, religion, ancestry, nationality, or national origin.

(c) "Person" means any individual, firm, partnership, joint stock company, corporation, association, incorporated society, statutory or common-law trust, estate, executor, administrator, receiver, trustee, conservator, liquidator, committee, assignee, officer, employee, principal, or agent, and includes any personal representative, trustee, receiver, assignee or other similar representative, and any real estate broker or salesman.

II. DISCRIMINATION IN HOUSING PROHIBITED

201. Except as otherwise provided herein, it shall be a violation of this regulation for any person to do any of the following acts for a discriminatory reason:

(a) Refuse or fail to transfer an interest in real property, or require different terms for such transfer, or represent that such interest is not available;

(b) Include in the terms or conditions of a transfer of an interest in real property any clause, condition or restriction;

(c) Refuse or restrict facilities, services, repairs, or improvements for his tenants or lessees;

(d) Refuse to lend money, guarantee loans, accept mortgages, or otherwise make funds available for the purchase, acquisition, construction, rehabilitation, repair, or maintenance of real property, or impose different conditions on such financing; and

(e) Knowingly publish or circulate, or cause to be published or circulated, any oral or written notice, statement, or advertisement for transfer of an interest in real property, or for financing relating thereto, which, directly or indirectly, states or declares that such transfer or financing will be refused or restricted.

202. It shall be a violation of this regulation for any person acting for monetary gain knowingly to induce or attempt to induce another person to transfer an interest in real property by representations regarding the existing or potential proximity of real property owned, used, or occupied by persons of any particular race, color, religion, ancestry, nationality, or national origin.

III. COMMISSION ON HUMAN RELATIONS, COMPLAINT AND ENFORCEMENT PROCEDURES

301. The Commissioners' Council on Human Relations established pursuant to Commissioners Organization Order No. 125 (April 9, 1958, revised May 9, 1961) is hereby renamed the District of Columbia Commission on Human Relations, and, in addition to the duties presently set forth in Organization Order No. 125, the Commission shall be charged with the enforcement of this regulation. In the exercise of its duties under this regulation the Commission may sit in panels or divisions of not less than three members. A majority of the members of the division shall constitute a quorum for performing any of the acts and duties of the Commission under this regulation, except subpoenas may be issued by a single member of the Commission.

302. (a) The composition of the Commission and the terms of its members shall be as set forth in Section 3 of Commissioners Organization Order No. 125. Members of the Commission shall be paid at the rate of $_____ per diem for the days on which they actually perform duties under this regulation.

(b) There shall be an Executive Director of the Commission, who shall be responsible for the administration of the Commission and the supervision of the Commission's staff. The Board of Commissioners of the District of Columbia shall appoint the Executive Director of the Commission and such

additional staff as it may deem necessary to perform the work of the Commission, after consulting with the Chairman of the Commission.

(c) The Board of Commissioners shall designate one or more staff attorneys to prosecute complaints before the Commission and to perform the other legal work of the Commission; Provided, That such staff attorneys shall not participate in the performance of any of the decision-making powers and duties of members of the Commission themselves.

(d) Expenses incurred by the Commission as a whole or by any of its individual members or staff shall be met from funds provided for the administration of the District of Columbia.

(e) The Commission shall regularly, and not less than once a year in any event, report on its activities to the Board of Commissioners and shall include in its report any recommendations for the amendment of this regulation or other action to insure the achievement of its purposes.

303. A complaint charging a violation of sections 201 or 202 of this regulation may be initiated by the Commission itself or may be filed with the Commission by any person. The complaint shall set forth the specific facts of the alleged violation, including relevant names, dates, and places. The Commission shall promptly serve a copy of the complaint by registered or certified mail on each respondent named in the complaint.

304. The Commission shall by investigation determine within two weeks after a complaint is initiated or filed under the previous section whether to dismiss the complaint or to set the matter for hearing. The Commission shall give due notice to all interested parties of the time and place of any hearing.

305. Respondent shall have the right to appear in person or by an attorney at the hearing, present evidence in his behalf, and examine and cross examine witnesses. Complainant shall have the right to appear in person, accompanied by an attorney if he desires, and present evidence in support of the complaint. All testimony at the hearing shall be taken under oath. The Commission shall promulgate rules governing the conduct of its hearings, including rules for the admission of evidence. The hearings of the Commission shall be considered investigations or examinations of municipal matters within the meaning of the Act of July 1, 1902 (D.C. Code, 1951 ed., Sec. 1-237) and the Commission and each member thereof shall possess the powers vested in the Commissioners by that Act.

306. If upon all the evidence presented, the Commission finds that the respondent has not violated Title II of this Regulation, it shall state its findings of fact and dismiss the complaint. If upon all the evidence presented, the Commission finds that the respondent has violated Title II of this Regulation, it shall state its findings of fact and shall issue such orders as the facts warrant.

307. In the event the respondent fails to comply with any order issued by the Commission, it shall certify the case and the entire record of its proceedings to the Corporation Counsel for appropriate action to secure enforcement of the Commission's order.

308. The Commission may conciliate the complaint at any time prior to the issuance of an order under section 306, and may require and accept as part of a conciliation agreement, deposit by the respondent with the Commission of a bond or other security acceptable to the Commission conditioned upon the respondent's good faith performance of the terms of the agreement. Such agreements may provide for legal and equitable enforcement of their terms.

IV. ENFORCEMENT AND PENALTIES

401. In any case wherein the Commission deems it necessary in order to preserve the status quo or the efficacy of its jurisdiction or to prevent irreparable injury, it may, after the initiation or filing of a complaint pursuant to section 303, request the Corporation Counsel to seek interlocutory judicial relief, including temporary restraining order and injunction. The Commission may in its discretion, for the protection of the respondent, require a complainant to post an appropriate bond or undertaking prior to seeking such interlocutory relief.

402. The Corporation Counsel is authorized to seek injunctive and other relief to enforce this regulation and orders and agreements pursuant thereto.

403. Any person who wilfully violates section 201 or 202 of this regulation shall be subject to a fine of not more than $300.00 or imprisonment for not more than ten days. No prosecution shall be commenced under this regulation except upon reference to the Corporation Counsel by the Commission.

404. A violation of section 201 or 202 of this regulation by a real estate broker or salesman shall be an act demonstrating unworthiness and incompetency within the meaning

of section 45-1408(h) of the District of Columbia Code (1961 ed.) and the Commission shall be authorized to refer evidence of such violation to the District of Columbia Real Estate Commission for appropriate disciplinary action. The Commission may also refer evidence of a violation of this Regulation by any licensee of any agency of the District of Columbia to such agency, for appropriate disciplinary action.

V. MISCELLANEOUS PROVISIONS

501. This regulation shall not apply to:

(a) Any refusal to rent or lease a part of a single-family dwelling in which another person or family will reside during the term of the requested lease;

(b) Any refusal to rent or lease a room or rooms within a rooming house which has a capacity of less than 5 roomers or lodgers and in which the owner resides;

(c) Any refusal by a church or religious organization to rent or lease property to a person of another faith, provided that the property in question is used in connection with the bona fide religious activities of the church or organization.

502. Nothing contained in this regulation shall be construed to alter or supersede any remedy available to any person for the prevention, punishment or redress of discrimination in housing.

OUTLINE OF THE CORE - ADA
POSITION ON THE
D. C. PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Presented to School Superintendent Hansen and the
Board of Education

March 23, 1964

Washington, D. C.

Outline of the CORE Position on the D.C. Public Schools

The Washington Chapter of the Congress of Racial Equality is concerned with the quality of education afforded the children in the D.C. Public Schools. We believe that evidence points to the following facts about the school system:

1. There is differential treatment of students in the school system based on the economic level of the neighborhood. This fact is evidenced by:

   (a) The assignment of teachers, in that the schools in the poorer neighborhoods have larger percentages of temporary teachers than the schools in the richer neighborhoods.

   (b) The distribution of books and equipment in the schools in the economically depressed areas of the city is somewhat unequal to the distribution of books and equipment in the more affluent communities.

   (c) The availability of facilities for the Negro schools. (Economically depressed areas of the city are not comparable to nor as adequate as those in the more advantaged areas.)

   (d) The overcrowding in the schools in the predominantly Negro areas of the city as compared with the more favorable conditions in the schools in predominantly white and high economic level areas.

2. There is some mistreatment of children in the public schools by some of the school personnel:

   (a) This belief is supported by the student-teacher relationships in the schools in the predominantly Negro areas of the city versus the student-teacher relationships in the schools in the predominantly white areas of the city.

   (b) This fact is also supported by the relatioships of push-outs to the schools and their attempts to return to the public school system, and the use of policemen in school discipline problems.

3. The selection of the Board of Education members is not conducive to real representative school administration.

   (a) This is supported by the fact that to our knowledge there is not a single member of the Board of Education with children in the D.C. Public Schools.

   (b) By admission of Board members themselves the Public School Board has no policy in dealing with education problems in the public schools.

Position of the Negro Problem on the [illegible] Public Schools

The members [illegible] concerned with the welfare of [illegible] children in the [illegible] Public Schools, believe that [illegible] the following [illegible] should [illegible]:

1. [illegible] in the school system [illegible] Public Schools.

(a) [illegible]

(b) [illegible] the [illegible] school [illegible] the [illegible] committees.

(c) The [illegible] of [illegible] Schools. (Georgia [illegible] [illegible] the [illegible])

(d) [illegible] Negro [illegible] with the [illegible] in the [illegible] Negro [illegible].

2. [illegible]

[illegible]

3. [illegible]

[illegible]

(a) [illegible]

4. The School authorities have not been as vigorous as they could have been in pushing for larger appropriations for the schools. This point takes into consideration the part played by the D.C. Board of Commissioners in the acquisition of school funds.

5. The Superintendent of the public schools and the School Board should play amore vocal role in the attempts to establish an accredited four year city college in the District of Columbia.

6. The track system used in the D.C. Public Schools is not conducive to a good education system in that it stigmatizes the students and almost writes them off as academically lost from the beginning.

   (a) This is supported by the very low rate of transfer of students from the basic tracks to higher tracks in the school system.

   (b) Further, the vocational schools receive most of the graduates from the basic track and these industrial schools are used as dumping grounds for hard-to-manage children.

7. Available data published by the Board of Education show that the schools in the higher economic areas are operating in many cases far below capacity, while those in the underprivileged areas of the city are operating far above capacity. This indicates the need for special action in the area of transfering students from overcrowded schools to those operating with space to spare.

[illegible] Education [illegible] or Children in the [illegible] Economic [illegible] ed Pla[illegible] ols, [illegible]

PART I - [illegible]

School	Location	Capacity	Enrollment	Percent over Capacity	Number of Teachers	Percent of Temporary Teachers	Area Median Family Income 1/	Area Rate of Unemployment 1/ (Percent)
Benn[illegible]	Minn. [illegible]e. & Foote St.,N.[illegible]	520	567	9.0	17	35.4	$4,600	11.0
Bir[illegible]	Nichols Ave. & Sumner Rd.,S.E.	920	1,010	9.9	31	29.0	5,900	6.0
Bunkerhi[illegible]	14th & Michigan Ave., N.E.	780	1,001	28.3	26	15.4	9,700	4.0
Clev[illegible]	8th & T Sts., N.W.	580	667	15.0	20	25.0	3 900	15.0
Davis 1/	44th Pl. & H Sts.,S.E.	1,316	1,543	17.2	45	66.3	5,600	7.0
Garrison	12th & R Sts., N.W.	520	850	63.5	27	22.2	3,500	14.0
Grimke	Vt. Ave. & T [illegible]ts.,N.W.	640	1,040	62.5	32	34.4	3,900	15.0
Logan	3rd & G Sts., N.W.	650	1,012	55.7	28	30.0	4,300	20.0
Moten	Elvans & Morris Rds., S.E.	968	1,030	6.4	31	38.7	5,200	4.0
Whittier	[illegible]th & Sheridan Sts.,N.W.	998	1,[illegible]	6.6	[illegible]	40.5	7,600	6.0
Hardy	[illegible] Rd. [illegible]a Pl.,N.W.	340	167	Under [illegible]9	[illegible]	16.7	13,800	0.5

Part 1 Table 1

Hearst	Tilden St. Bet. Idaho Ave. & 37th St.,N.W.	310	224	Under 27.7	7	14.3	10,900	3.0
Janney	Wis. Ave. & Albermarle St., N.W	610	467	Under 23.4	17	29.4	11,100	3.0
Key	Hurst Terr. & Dana Pl, N.W.	340	167	Under 50.9	7	28.6	14,200	4.0
Lafayette	No. Hampton St., & Broad Branch Rd.,N.W.	700	734	4.9	22	18.2	13,300	2.0
Mann	Newark St. bet. 44th & 45th Sts., N.W.	310	210	Under 32.3	8	12.5	13,700	1.0
Grant	G St.,bet. 21st & 22nd Sts., N.W.	360	66	Under 81.7	3	...	7,900	2.0
Patterson	So. Capital St., bet. Danbury & Elmira Sts.,S.W.	1,090	1,075	Under 1.3	31	35.5	6,400	4.0
Stoddert	39th & Calvert Sts.,N.W.	340	182	Under 46.5	7	...	10,800	2.0

1/ Estimated - Based on 1960 Census Data.

SOURCE: Public Schools of the District of Columbia, Department of General Research, Budget and Legislation Office of Statistician.

Differential Educational Opportunities for Children in the District of Columbia Public Schools Based on the Economic Levels of the Neighborhoods-Selected Junior High Schools, as of October 1963

PART I -TABLE 2

School	Location	Capacity	Enrollment	Percent over Capacity	Number of Teachers	Percent of Temporary Teachers	Area Median Family Income 2/	Area Rate of Unemployment 2/ (Percent)
Bakus	So. Dakota Ave. & Hamilton St.,N.E.	919	1,256	36.7	49.5	41.5	$ 7,700	5.0
Banneker	Euclid St. & Ga. Ave.,N.W.	851	1,576	22.3	60.5	31.4	3,900	11.0
Browne	24th & Benning Rd., N.E.	1,080	1,385	28.2	54.5	26.6	4,700	12.0
Evans 1/	56th & East Capitol Sts.,N.E.	894	972	8.7	44.0	43.2	3,100	12.0
Garnet-Patterson	10th & You Sts.,N.W.	708	911	28.7	40.0	33.8	3,900	19.0
Shaw	7th & Rhode Island Ave., N.W.	1,167	1,453	24.5	66.0	42.4	3,200	10.0
Terrell	1st & Pierce Sts.,N.W.	937	1,263	34.8	51.5	34.0	3,900	19.0
Gordon	35th & T Sts., N.W.	908	973	7.2	42.0	34.5	9,800	10.0
Hart	6th & Miss. Ave.,S.E.	969	1,194	23.2	47.5	41.1	6,100	6.0
Kramer	17th & Q Sts., S.E.	951	1,191	25.2	46.5	26.9	5,100	8.0
Paul	8th & Oglethorpe Sts.,N.W.	1,126	1,189	5.6	48.5	23.7	7,600	6.0
Deal 1/	Fort Dr. & Nebr. Ave, N.W.	1,083	1,193	10.2	46.5	14.0	12,000	3.0

Part I-Table 2

1/ In comparing the different qualities of Education offered at similar D. C. Public Schools, some information about Deal and Evans Junior high schools is pertinent: Deal located in a high income area, has an honor track, Evans located in an economically poor area has no honor track. Deal has about 19.6 percent temporary teachers (10 out of 51), Evans has 44 teachers, 43.2 percent of which are temporary.

Deal has 1,193 students with an average of 10 books per child.
Evans has 972 students who use mostly "hand down" books with about one bookd per child.

Deal has library with 1,200 books.
Evans has library with no books.

2/ Estimated - Based on 1960 Census Data.

SOURCE: Public Schools of the District of Columbia, Department of General Research, Budget and Legislation Office of the Statistician.

Differential Educational Opportunities for Children in the District of Columbia Public Schools Based on the Economic Levels of the Neighborhoods-Selected High Schools, as of October 1963

PART I -TABLE 3

School	Location	Capacity	Enrollment	Percent over Capacity	Number of Teachers	Percent of Temporary Teachers	Area Median Family Income 2/	Area Rate of Unemployment 2/ (Percent)
Cardoza	13th & Clifton Sts.,N.W.	1,780	2,058 1/	15.6	76	35.6	$4,500	10.0
Dunbar	1st & N Sts., N.W.	1,258	1,269	0.9	48	37.5	4,100	14.0
Eastern	17th & East Capital Sts.	2,327	2,386	2.5	86	48.8	4,100	17.0
McKinley	2nd & T Sts., N.E.	1,787	1,789	0.1	67	22.4	4,500	10.0
Roosevelt	13th & Upshur Sts.,N.W.	1,551	1,839 1/	18.6	74	30.4	4,400	12.0
Spingarn	26th & Benning Rd., N.E.	1,627	1,718	5.6	62	12.9	4,300	12.0
Anacostia	16th & R Sts., S. E.	1,369	1,271	Under 7.2	48	22.0	4,300	10.0
Ballou	4th & Trenton Sts.,S.E.	1,187	1,227	3.4	47	59.6	5,100	9.0
Coolidge	5th & Tuckerman Sts.,N.W.	1,473	1,279	Under 3.2	50	14.0	8,400	5.0
Western	35th & R Sts., N.W.	1,308	1,115	Under 14.8	46	38.7	12,100	3.0
Wilson	Nebraska Ave. & Chesapeake St. N.W.	1,487	1,370	Under 7.9	57	10.4	10,600	4.0

1/ Includes ninth grade.
2/ Estimated - Based on 1960 Census Data.

SOURCE: Public Schools of the District of Columbia, Department of General Researdh, Budget and Legislation, Office of Statistician.

Part II

The Treatment of Children in the D. C. Public Schools and the Schools' relations with the Police Department.

Washington CORE contends that the failure of many school personnel to understand and/or practice their understanding of the socio-cultural implications of teaching in lower class communities leads to an atmosphere of estrangement and in many cases hostility which at best is not conducive to learning and at worst leads to outbursts of violence to persons and/or property. This is in our estimation one of the significant factors accounting for lack of interest in school, high rates of truancy, and age-16 dropouts. Thus we feel that in many instances these students could more appropriately be called "pushouts". While it is obvious that the schools are not responsible for all of the factors leading to the above-mentioned problems, it is equally obvious that the schools are responsible for the administrative handling of discipline problems and for the inability of some teachers to handle appropriately their middle class biases in working with lower class students in our central city schools.

The following examples are cases known to Richard R. Atkinson, Jr., A.C.S.W., and are cited to illustrate our contentions. The identity of the individuals involved has been disguised in order to preserve the confidentiality of their individual cases.

1. In January 1962, a complaint of truancy was filed against R..... with the D.C. Juvenile Court. In conferring with Terrell Junior High School personnel, the social worker was told that the child was "dirty" and came to school dressed "like he was working in a coal mine". Further investigation of the matter by the social worker revealed that the child's mother in fact seemed to have a compulsion regarding cleanliness, following a recovery from tuberculosis. The family received support from Public Assistance, and due to economic hardship, the mother bought the boy's clothing from an Army surplus store. The child, having been humiliated in front of his class, failed to attend school further and was committed by the court to the custody of the Welfare Department on May 31, 1962.

2. On April 6, 1962 an incident occurred at Shaw Junior High School which was described by the press as a "riot". Several students were injured by acid burns received when fire extinguishers were used to disperse the students and at least one teacher received head injuries requiring medical attention. Chairs and windows were broken. Investigation revealed that the incident started after a teacher separated two students who had been fighting. In doing this, the teacher allegedly tore the jacket of one of the boys. His older brother was standing alongside and requested the teacher to let his brother go, stating that he could calm his younger brother down. At this point, the younger brother told the teacher he was going to make him pay for the torn jacket. The teacher then allegedly struck the boy in the face and body with his fist. The older brother, who had initially offered to help, then struck the teacher, and bedlam broke loose.

3. As recently as January 1964, a complaint of assault was filed in the Juvenile Court by the assistant principal of Shaw Junior High School against a student who had been fighting on the sidewalk outside the school. Filing of the complaint was facilitated by a policeman stationed at the school. Investigation revealed that the boys involved in the "fight" had been involved in a game in which one attempted to catch the other unaware and strike him in the chest. Such a game has been played by boys for many years. On this occasion the complaining student had just recently been in an actual fight in a classroom and was not in a mood for any rough play outside. Consequently, when the student charged with assault hit him, he struck back and a fight ensued. While this might constitute a school disciplinary problem, we question the need to have the child arrested and charged with a felony in view of the particular lack of maliciousness leading to the fight. The boy who had been charged, incidentally, was employed in the evenings as a dishwasher, and helped his mother, a Government cafeteria employee, raise a family of six children. The father is deceased. Although the boy had gotten into trouble a year ago, there were no recent complaints regarding his behavior. Most of his grades were B's and C's. There was one failing grade, which could be made up. The boy hoped to graduate in June 1964. After this incident there was a question raised as to his readmission, and only after the social worker conferred with school personnel was he readmitted.

4. It should be pointed out that in several schools, policemen have been regularly stationed in the hallways or in the office.

5. Boys at some schools--for example, Shaw Junior High and Langley Junior High--are sent home for not wearing neckties. In many instances, the parents are at work and the students merely roam the streets. If they do not tell their parents immediately that they have been sent home, this street roaming may last for days.

6. In February 1964, at Hine Junior High School, a 16-year old former student (dropout) of that school returned to Hine to request a referral to enable him to re-enter school. This boy has attended the Friendship Neighborhood House, where the social workers have attempted to persuade him and others to return to school. Finally, Bobby Mitchell, this boy's football hero, visited the neighborhood house and convinced the boy to return to school. The boy visited Boys Junior-Senior High School requesting information about entering school. He was told that he must be referred from his former school. Whereupon he returned to Hine and was arrested for "unlawful entry".

7. The former principal at Terrell Junior High School used to announce on the school's public a dress system the presence of juvenile court probation officers in the building, together with the name of the child being inquired about. Thus the child whom the probation officer sought to help was frequently so stigmatized that it was difficult for social workers or teacher to reach him.

8. In many of the schools in slum communities, the teachers and school officials are not careful to preserve the confidential nature of the fact that certain children's families are on public assistance or that certain children need to participate in a free lunch program. In many cases, therefore, children in need of such help elect to do without rather than risk embarrassment before their classmates.

9. In the fall of 1962 at Shaw Junior High School, a teacher struck a student with a ruler for playing in class. When the child stiffened in his chair, thus showing his displeasure, the teacher grabbed him by the collar and threw him against the wall. The boy then struck the teacher. The school was about to file an assault complaint against the boy until it was indicated a complaint might also be filed against the teacher.

10. Another case is that of the Douglas Junior High School. A parent complained to CORE that her boys were often sent home for minor infractions during the school day. Her sons have been sent home at least four times in two months for being late for class or for not having money to purchase school locks. The boys' mother approached the principal about their frequent expulsions, explaining that she makes only $51 a week, and that she has no husband to help her financially. She pointed out that as soon as she could afford them, the boys would have locks. She also pointed out to the principal that when her children are sent home, they don't come directly home but often stay out on the streets and get into trouble during school hours. The mother related that she had called the Board of Education regarding the matter and had been told that it was the policy of Douglas School to do as it saw fit with regard to students.

11. Another case of the mistreatment of school children is the one which occurred recently at Coolidge Junior High School. This was a case of a Negro music teacher who was directed by the principal, Mr. Cedric Reynolds, to prepare the children in her classes to do a musical play. The teacher chose to do the musical "Pajama Game". In choosing the children to participate in the play, the teacher cast a white girl opposite a Negro boy, but was promptly told that the community would not accept such an arrangement. She was told that Negroes should be cast opposite Negroes and whites opposite whites. Finally, the teacher was not allowed to present the play until the casting had been changed. This was quite damaging to both of the children involved, neither of whom had objected to the casting arrangement.

Part III

Composition of the Board of Education and the Selection of its Members

The Congress of Racial Equality and the community are well aware of the fact that the appointment of persons to serve on the District of Columbia Board of Education is not the prerogative of the public school administration. Nevertheless we believe that the Superintendent of the D.C. Public Schools can influence the appointment of Board members. We therefore call to the attention of the school administration that,as far as we have been able to determine, there are no members of the present Board with children in the public schools. In fact, we believe that one Board member with children of school age has his children in private school.

We believe that in order for the children of the District of Columbia to be properly represented, the Board should contain some parents of D.C. public school children. We believe that parents would have a more direct interest in what is happening to their children in the schools, and if for no other than selfish reasons, would be inclined to be more vigorous in directing public education in the District of Columbria.

We believe that if persons appointed to the Board of Education have children in the public schools, they will be vigilant in formulating an education policy for the Board. One of its members has publicly stated that it does not have a policy at this time.

Part IV

The Budget Requests for the D.C. Public Schools

Americans for Democratic Action, Greater Washington Chapter, is pleased to join with CORE and others in this discussioj of some of the most serious problems in the District of Columbia schools.

The inequality of educational opportunity in the nation's capital city is apparent and has resulted from years of neglect and frugality. Neither ADA or CORE is interested in solving our school problems by equalizing scarcity. The only maeningful solution to our school problems lies in greater efforts on the part of school officials, the District Commissioners, the Board of Education, the citizens of the District, and the members of Congress.

We are frankly suprised at the negative reactions to the possibility of a massive community-wide inter-racial effort on behalf of the D. C. public schools.

There is nothing in the situation in Washington's school system which gives reason for self-righteousness on anyone's part. The community has not spoken loudly enough about its determination to win better education. Congress has shown too little concern for a district which can deliver no votes.

In the past years, we think the Board of Education has never proposed a school budget realistically related to our community's needs. School construction is a good illustration. In 1960 there were sixty school buildings in use that had been recommended for adandonment or complete renovation in the Strayer report which had been made more than a decade before. The Board of Education proposed in its budget request for 1960 an item of $15 million for school construction. The figure bore little relationship to the school needs of the District. The District Commissioners further cut the figure by 40% and Congress eventually appropriated $6.9 million, less than half of the insufficient amount requested by the Board of Education.

The additional classroom space created by the time the Board prepared its 1961 budget request was exactly equalled by the increased enrollment in the elementary schools. In the meantime high school enrollment had increased and the obsolete buildings were growing older. The school crisis was worse that it had been when the 1960 budget requests were prepared. But the school board asked for less school construction money in the 1961 budget than it had requested in the 1960 budget. By time for the 1962 budget, the situation was still worse, and the School Board asked for still less. Each year, the School Board asked less and Congress, oddly enough, gave more.

It has often been said that school problems are not solved in the streets. Unfortunately the Board of Education has followed a course of action which seems to prove the contrary, because the Thanksgiving Day riots seem to have shocked the Board of Education and the District Commissioners into raising their sights.

It would seem that only dramatic events can salvage education in the District of Columbia. We cannot vote for our school board; we cannot vote for our District Commissioners; we cannot vote for Congressmen who pass on our school budgets.

Parents in great numbers came to the hearings of the District Commissioners on the 1965 school budget. They described a school which has only one wash basin for 200 boys. They described elementary school classes meeting in cold, damp substandard school basements. They described school libraries with no books. They described school boilers condemmed by the District boiler inspector, and they described fire hazards which endanger the lives of the children. These parents described the way in which children are being abused every day of their lives.

Their pleas moved the District Commissioners to restore some of the requests of the Board of Education which had been denied by the Department of General Administration. Nevertheless, the House has passed a budget for 1965 which includes less money for school construction and improvement than even the meager amount recommended by the DGA. The excuse was that too much money is being paid for cites, which is another way of saying, don't build schools in the Central City Area where land costs are high.

Unless action by the Senate restores the funds cut out by the House, the existing school problems of the District will be multiplied many times over by 1966, and at some future time the Board of Education will be discussing school problems, not in light of parents and children demonstrating for better educational opportunity, but in the context of flying coke bottles in a riot of far greater proportions than the D. C. Stadium riots of 1962.

In the future years budget requests must be based upon the needs of children in the District rather than upon someone's guess as to what Congress will accept. Americans for Democratic Action, testifying on the 1965 budget, stated,"Unless we are prepared to spend at least $600 per pupil on current operating expenses and to undertake a major capital expenditure for school construction, we can only expect further deterioration in a school situation which is already intolerable." $600 per pupil is a modest figure. It is $45 below the average for New York State and less than half of what many school districts are spending. On the basis of projected enrollments for 1965, this would have meant a budget for current operating expenses of approximately $85 million as opposed to the Board of Education request of $70.4 million.

In terms of capital outlay, ADA pointed out that the proposed expenditures were barely enough to meet anticipated future enrollment increases. What is needed is an ambitious five year program of school construction. Based upon present construction costs and land values, we feel that what is needed cannot be done for less than $200 million. Spread over five years this would mean an annual capital expenditure of $40 million .

Perhaps the job can be done for less, but we do not believe that anyone familiar with school problems can deny that our suggested total educational expenditure of $125 million a year is closer to the actual need than the $104 million requested by the Board of Education or the $87 million recommended by the Department of General Administration in its budget estimates.

If the superintendent and the school board are sincere about their desire to improve schools in the District, we offer them the opportunity to show the nation that citizens in the District want something better than to have their children herded into ancient fire traps that are unsanitary, unsafe, and breeding grounds for ignoranace and violence rather than centers for learning.

Part V

Four Year City College in D.C.

Background of some attempts by citizens to secure a new four-year liberal arts college for the District of Columbia:

No structural change in Wilson and Miner Buildings of D.C. Teachers College since 1913.

Built to fill need for two-year normal school teachers (female) long before the time that 65 percent of the four-year teachers colleges across the country became four-year general colleges.

No facilities for science or psychology or language laboratories for present day needs.

No adequate gymnasium or playing fields for teaching physical education.

Both top or third floors closed because of fire hazards.

Cafeteria not in use; vending machines installed which make meals very expensive, time consuming, and not conducive to good health and eating habits.

No proper teachers lounges. No teachers lunch room, except for a long cell-like room. No proper rest rooms or lavatories.

Buildings widely separated by three main highways which have great volume of traffic.

No adequate theatre.

Library too small.

No campus of any kind.

Inadequate drinking fountains. The low ones installed with the building have not worked for years.

District residents have recognized for forty years that these buildings were inadequate and have tried desperately to secure new colleges long before the Supreme Court decision in 1954.

During the 1920's Dr. Ballou worked for years on this and in 1929 Dr. Anna Halberg, President of Wilson Building, Dr. Eugene Clark of Miner Building, and Dr. Frank Ballou, Superintendent of Schools, managed to have the two-year normal schools changed into four-year teachers colleges. The buildings which were built in 1893, I believe, are the same old inadequate buildings. About 1932 Dr. Higbee, the President of Wilson, moved the students out in an emergency as the building seemed to be cracking up. For two years they were housed at O and M Streets, N.W., while the building was patched up again.

The so-called "Strayer Report", a survey of the public schools of D.C., under the auspices of the Chairman of the Subcommittees of the Congressional District of Columbia Appropriations Committee was made during President Truman's Administration. The survey cost $100,000.

The report concluded as follows: "If the District is to provide its youth with teacher education opportunities comparable to those furnished by the public institutions of 14 states that have populations smaller than that of the District, it will be necessary to expend at least ten million dollars upon new plant facilities and to contemplate increasing current operating costs by 300 or 400 percent."

This was published in 1949, but no facilities were forthcoming in which to train the teachers we now in 1964 so desperately need.

In 1959 a report was submitted by Dr. Walter Hager, then President of D.C. Teachers' College (integrated after the Supreme Court decision in 1954) as follows: "If the young people of the city are not to be severely handicapped as they prepare to enter the economic life of the nation steps must be taken soon to provide extensive public college opportunities."

In the fall of 1962 the D.C. Teachers' College, which had been warned several years before, lost its NCATE accreditation due to poor physical facilities. Although it is still accredited by the Middle States Association, District citizens are justly alarmed that we cannot expect continued accreditation by the Middle States Association of a college which must utilize the facilities of high schools for teacher training.

In January 1963 a sermon setting forth the history and inadequacy of D.C. Teachers' College was preached by Dr. Duncan Howlett, outstanding minister of All Souls' Unitarian Church which is noted for its in-city service to the neighborhood. He called upon the residents to work for a Franklin D. Roosevelt Memorial University which would be a fitting memorial to the great humanitarian President who held out helping hands to all of the "have-nots".

In February 1963, at a Democratic Party Precinct Assembly meeting in the District Building, a petition for the college was signed by members of the Democratic Central Committee and the precinct workers and chairmen.

On May 2, 1963 this petition of almost 500 names was submitted to the President of the Board of Commissioners of the District of Columbia by an ad hoc Committee of Women of Washington. The petition was addressed also to the Members of Congress. This committee was formed to support President of the Board Walter Tobriner's proposal for a public city college which would be a living memorial to Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

In President John F. Kennedy's message to the Congress on the Budget for the District of Columbia in 1963 he expressed concern that in the Nation's Capital, general education beyond the secondary level is not available at a nominal cost, as it is in many major cities and in the states.

In May of 1963 Superintendent of District Schools Carl Hansen called for a "university-type institution for the District" as a "community necessity".

In September 1963 President John F. Kennedy appointed a group to study the need for a D.C. Public College. The first meeting was held in October 1963. Five outstanding educators were appointed, and James H. Case, Jr., former president of Bard College at Annandale-on-Hudson, New York, accepted the position of executive director.

In January 1964, after the death of President Kennedy, one of the first official acts of President Lyndon B. Johnson was to publicly acknowledge the work of the college study group by appointing his own representative to it, Dr. Jerome B. Weisner, as a member of the committee.

On the local level during the period of the fall of 1963 and winter of 1964 the League of Women Voters of the District of Columbia have been conducting their own study of all public education of the District. This has been carried on by an education committee under the President, Mrs. Alice (Jehu) Hunter.

Under the presidency of Mrs. Arthur Blacklow, the District Parent-Teacher Association conducted a study of the need for a public liberal arts college and presented this on the agenda of their convention meeting in June 1963 in the District of Columbia. Senator Wayne Morse, main speaker at their banquet, included the need for replacement of the D.C. Teachers' College in his speech.

The PTA currently has 138 petitions out among their chapters in the District, calling for a public four-year liberal arts college or university.

The District Urban League has conducted several surveys of the need for public higher education over the years and is now preparing a report by its Education Committee. Mr. Robert Weston is preparing this.

The American Association of University Women, under the President, Miss Marian Linde, has requested their Education Committee, chaired by Mrs. Gladys Burton, to submit a report on a six-month study of the need for public higher education in the District.

The Executive Committee of the Democratic Party Central Committee at its February 1964 meeting accepted a resolution submitted by Mrs. Fred Hetzel recognizing the need for a public four-year liberal arts college and unanimously passed the resolution.

The Democratic Precinct Assembly meeting immediately following in February 1964 unanimously accepted the above resolution.

All three Commissioners of the District of Columbia have been recorded as recognizing the need for replacement of the D.C. Teachers' College by a four-year general liberal arts college (public).

District Organization after District Organization has over the past twenty years proposed, persuaded, and documented the need for a public college for the District of Columbia.

Study after study has been made, but to no avail. D.C. Teachers' College still remains our only public college.

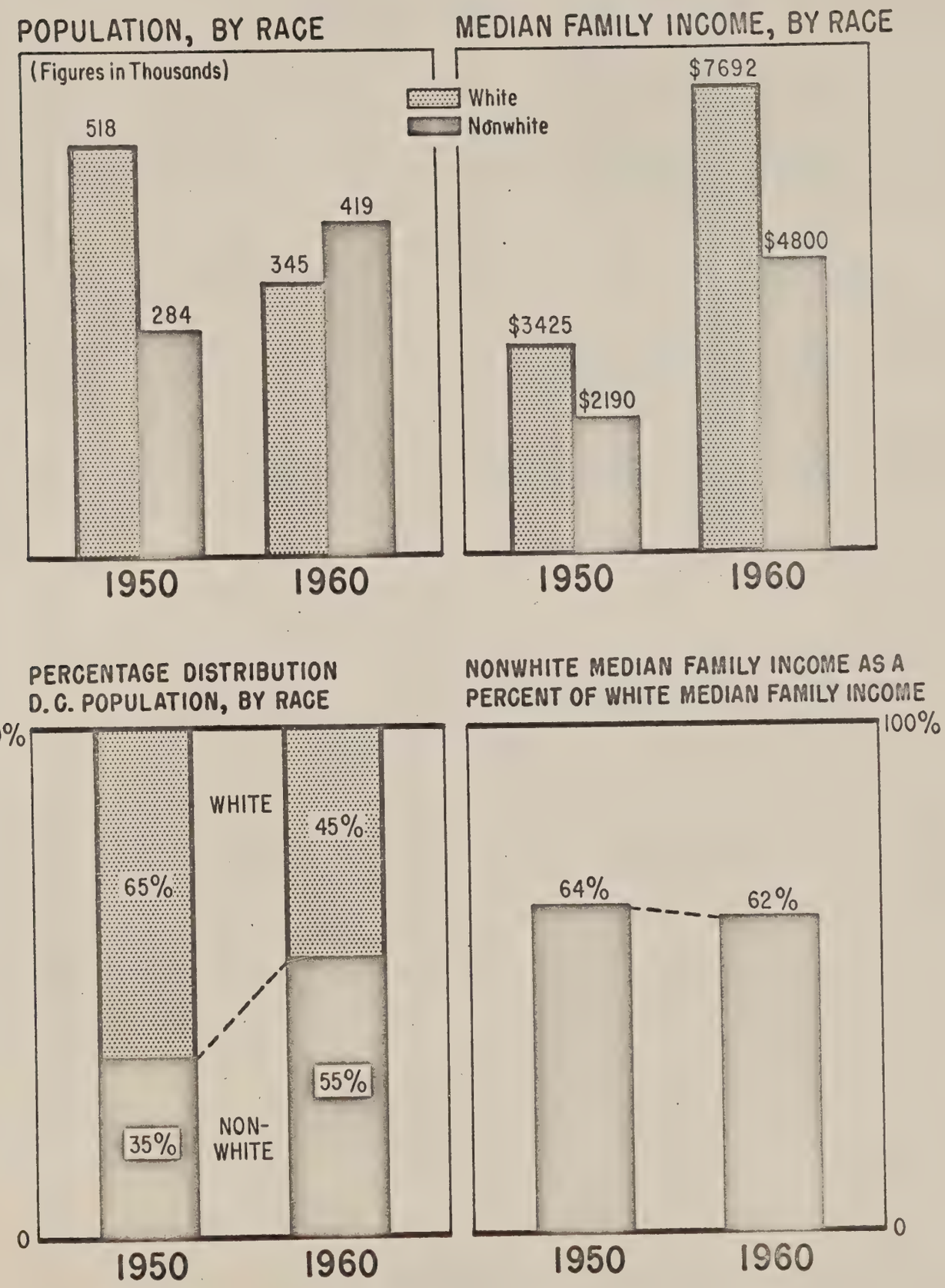
Superintendents of Schools of the District for forty years have requested that the District be granted a new public college, and President after President of D.C. Teachers' College has documented the need for new physical facilities for teacher training.

Now the need is for new physical facilities for a liberal arts college. Teacher training colleges no longer meet the needs of today's leaders of students who must live and work in a world of automation, science, and communication through many languages.

Sixty-five percent of the teacher training institutes have been converted into liberal arts colleges for our teachers and the emphasis today is upon broad background in the humanities as a preliminary for teacher training.

Finally, the District of Columbia is the only one of fifty cities comparable in size which has one lone outmoded inadequate teachers' college.

D.C. POPULATION AND INCOME*, 1950 AND 1960



* Income before taxes

SOURCE: U.S. Bureau of the Census

Appendix

Capacity By Race

* ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS

No. pupils 87,523
No. teachers 2,776

JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOLS

No. pupils 29,382
No. teachers 1,224

SENIOR HIGH SCHOOLS

No. pupils 16,286
No. teachers 627

VOCATIONAL HIGH SCHOOLS

No. pupils 688
No. teachers 39

* Note: Pupil-teacher ratios do not coincide with our information, re: number of pupils actually in each class.

Average Over-crowding, Under-capacities for D. C. Schools

Elementary Schools	Negro, Integrated	-	8.4 % over
	White	-	15.0 % under
Junior High Schools	Negro, Integrated	-	17.1 % over
	White	-	10.2 % over
High Schools	Negro, Integrated	-	3.3 % over
	White	-	7.9 % under

SUMMARY REPORT OF SCHOOL DISCUSSION

Monday, March 23, 1964

The following is a summary account of the discussion held at the offices of the School Superintendent between Dr. Carl F. Hansen, Superintendent of D. C. Public Schools, and Mr. Julius Hobson, Chairman of the Washington Congress of Racial Equality (CORE). With Mr. Hobson were Mr. Allen Taylor, Chairman of the Washington Chapter of Americans for Democratic Action (ADA), and three other persons representing CORE and ADA. With Dr. Hansen were three members of his administrative staff. Mr. Paul M. Killing, Executive Director of the Commissioners' Council on Human Relations, was present in an observer capacity and was asked by Dr. Hansen and Mr. Hobson to prepare this summary of the discussion.

In the interests of brevity and clarity, this summary will be confined to those issues which were discussed. It will not include points raised during either of the opening presentations but not considered during the general discussion. No effort will be made to summarize the opening statements by Mr. Hobson and Dr. Hansen. The full texts of these statements are available.

1. Differential Treatment of Students (CORE Proposals 1 and 2)

Mr. Hobson stated that CORE believes that there is differential treatment of school children based on the economic level of neighborhoods. He emphasized that more temporary teachers are assigned to schools in the poorer neighborhoods, that the distribution of books and equipment favors the more affluent communities, that facilities are not as adequate in the depressed areas, that most overcrowding occurs in the predominantly Negro areas.

Mr. Hobson presented data showing more overcrowding in predominantly Negro schools (3.3% over-capacity in largely Negro high schools as compared to 7.9% under-capacity in the "white" high schools), and showing a higher percentage of temporary teachers in the economically poorer neighborhoods. In comparing two junior high schools, for an example, Mr. Hobson noted that Deal, "located in a high income area," has 1,193 students with an average of 10 books per child, and a library with 1,200 books. Evans, "located in an economically poor area," has 972 students, using mostly "hand-down" books with about one book per child, and a library with no books.

Dr. Hansen expressed concern about the reported lack of books at Evans. He pointed out that recently, for the first time, funds had been made available for junior high school libraries, and that $10,000 had been released to Evans for library purposes as of January, 1964.

Dr. Hansen emphasized his determination that there should be no inequities in the distribution of books and equipment. He stated that a study and evaluation of the distribution of supplies is being undertaken and that periodic checks are made to prevent an imbalance of supplies and to check on the use of supplies "to avoid any possibility that culturally-

deprived neighborhoods will be denied new books and equipment." He added that he would look into the possibility of transferring surpluses of supplies to schools in depressed areas.

Dr. Hansen denied any inequity of school facilities in depressed areas. He pointed out that from 1955-1963, seventeen new elementary schools and 26 additions were constructed, all but two of which serve largely Negro neighborhoods. All of the four new junior high schools built during this period and the only high school constructed serve predominantly Negro enrollments.

Dr. Hansen said that many of the younger and many of the temporary teachers are found in the newer buildings, most of which are in depressed areas. He pointed out, however, that there has been great misunderstanding about the temporary teachers, that all but a small per cent have college degrees and are highly qualified teachers. They may not meet certain technical requirements or may not yet have taken the District teaching examination.

2. Transfer of Students from Overcrowded Schools (CORE Proposal 3)

Mr. Hobson stressed CORE's concern for the unequal treatment resulting from overcrowding of schools in the lower economic neighborhoods and suggested that students from such schools might be transferred to schools which are under capacity. He suggested that free transportation might be provided such students.

Dr. Hansen noted that available space in under-capacity buildings is now open to students who may be transferred upon the request of their parents. Dr. Hansen said that he planned to issue a new announcement on this policy naming the schools in which vacancies are available and requesting principals to bring this information to the attention of parents in overcrowded schools.

Dr. Hansen stated that he supported the concept of neighborhood schools and that he did not favor the compulsory transfer of students to schools outside their neighborhoods. He added that he felt that the compulsory transfer of certain students would be differential treatment inasmuch as other students, similarly situated, would not be transferred.

3. School Human Relations Program (CORE Proposal 4)

Mr. Hobson said that he felt that the public school human relations unit should be strengthened so that school officials and teachers can become more skilled in handling human relations matters and problems growing out of lower economic status. Mr. Hobson said that many teachers apparently "do not understand" students from lower class backgrounds and do not treat them with sensitivity. He added that some of such teachers were Negro. Mr. Atkinson, CORE Vice-Chairman, recited some examples of "mistreatment" of students by teachers.

Mr. Hobson suggested that the school system employ human relations specialists to assist the schools in this area.

Dr. Hansen lauded the "record of self-sacrifice" and the proven concern for students that has been demonstrated by many public school teachers. He gave examples of teachers who have spent funds from their own pockets, conducted special trips for students on their own time, and organized efforts to secure adequate clothing for students in need. He admitted that some problems do arise in a large school sytem and invited any reports of such problems and difficulties. He promised to promptly investigate any such reports.

Dr. Irene Hypps, Assistant Superintendent and Chairman of the Public School Human Relations Committee, noted that the Committee included representatives from all schools, that it had conducted several workshops for school personnel and planned expanded activities in the future.

Dr. Hansen said that the in-service training program for school personnel includes a number of lectures and meetings on such subjects as "Programs Related to Developing Understanding of the Problems of Culturally Deprived Children."

Dr. Hansen stated that he agreed with the need for a stepped-up human relations program and said that the schools would apply for foundation funds to employ a full-time human relations expert.

4. The Role of Policemen in the Schools (CORE Proposal 5)

Mr. Hobson and Mr. Atkinson said that they felt that policemen were too often called to handle minor problems in schools in depressed areas, but that this practice was not followed in the more well-to-do neighborhoods. They cited examples of arrests for apparently minor infractions and gave an example of a 16-year-old student who was arrested when he attempted to re-enroll in school after dropping out.

Mr. Hobson urged that policemen be divorced from the education process and that they be called in by principals only as a last resort when disciplinary action is necessary.

Dr. Hansen said that he had tried to investigate the incident of the 16-year-old. He said that the only case he had been able to discover involved a boy who was arrested for loitering after a previous warning. The boy had a considerable police record, he said. Dr. Hansen added that if the boy wished to re-enter school, such cases could be handled on an individual basis and that he would be glad to help.

Dr. Hansen emphasized the responsibility of the schools to provide for the safety of pupils and staff. He said that he felt that close cooperation with the Police Department was essential for this purpose. He noted that loiterers have been a serious problem in some schools.

Dr. Hansen expressed agreement with the concept that the police should be called in only as a last resort. He said that instruction to this effect had been circulated recently in a bulletin to all school personnel. He said

that he would investigate any reports of improper use of police authority.

5. The Drop-Out Problem (CORE Proposal 6)

Mr. Hobson urged that the school administration strengthen its program to combat the drop-out (or "push-out") problem.

Dr. Hansen stated that the school officials were extremely concerned about this program and were taking action in a variety of ways to discourage drop-outs and to encourage such young people to return to school. He added that this problem would be a continuing concern of the schools and that he would be pleased to take any additional steps that might be useful in coping with this problem.

6. Larger School Appropriations (CORE Proposal 9)

Mr. Jack Sessions, ADA representative, stated that the Board of Education had never requested sufficient funds to realistically meet the needs of the children of the District. He noted that Board requests are usually further cut by the Commissioners and by the Congress. Mr. Sessions said that at least $600 per pupil on current operating expenses is needed, or a current operating budget of around $85 million for 1965 as compared to the Board request of $70.4 million. He urged a capital expenditure of $200 million over the next five years.

Dr. Hansen agreed that the schools need more funds than have been made available in recent years. He noted, however, that the success of the Board of Education in obtaining the funds requested is only fair. He said that Congress had approved a mean of only 63.8% of operating funds requested by the Board during the period 1961-64. Congress approved only 57.6% of the Board's capital outlay requests over the same period.

7. Free Milk and Hot Lunches (CORE Proposal 13)

Mr. Hobson said that CORE had received reports of abuses of the free milk and hot lunch program, that some pupils are apparently denied milk if they are late or for other trivial reasons. He urged that the schools set a firm policy that the milk and the lunches not be denied for any reason and that any teacher or principle guilty of such denial be dismissed with due process. Mr. Hobson said he had some specific reports of such denial that he would pass on to Dr. Hansen in confidence.

Dr. Hansen said he would appreciate such reports and that he would investigate each and every example of any denial of the milk or the lunches. He said that he had looked into the matter after noting Mr. Hobson's statement in the press but that he had found little to substantiate CORE's concern to date.

8. Continued Consultation (CORE Proposal 14)

Mr. Hobson proposed that all organizations and individuals participating in the discussion should be permitted to consult with the superintendent and

that he would investigate any reports of improper use of police machinery.

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Mr. Jack Sessions, AFA representative, stated that the Board of Education had never requested sufficient funds to realistically meet the needs of the children of the District. He noted that Board requests are usually further cut by the Commissioners and by the Congress. Mr. Sessions said that at least $200 per pupil in current operating expenses is needed, or a current operating budget of around $45 million for 1963 as compared to the Board request of $70.6 million. He urged a capital expenditure of $200 million over the next five years.

Mr. Hansen agreed that the schools need more funds than have been made available in recent years. He noted, however, that the success of the Board of Education in obtaining the funds requested is only fair. He said that Congress had approved a mean of only 63.8% of operating funds requested by the Board during the period 1951-64. Congress approved only 57.6% of the Board's capital outlay requests over the same period.

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Mr. Hobson proposed that all organizations and individuals participating in the discussion should be permitted to consult with the superintendent and

the Board of Education from time to time concerning the implementation of the ideas being considered.

Dr. Hansen said that he would welcome this opportunity. He said that he felt that this discussion had been most fruitful and that he looked forward to future opportunities to consider these vital matters concerning the well-being of the children of the District.

Dr. Hansen said that he would need some time to study the proposals in detail and that he would respond to them in greater length. He invited CORE and ADA to attend a meeting of community representatives in his office on April 30. He said that he hoped to give a progress report concerning the issues raised by this discussion and by other organizations at the April 30 meeting.

# # #

This report was prepared by Mr. Paul M. Rilling, Executive Director, Commissioners' Council on Human Relations, who was present as an observer.

I agree that the above summary is a fair and accurate statement of the spirit of the meeting and the positions expressed by the participants.

Dr. Carl F. Hansen, Superintendent
District of Columbia Public Schools

Julius Hobson, Chairman
Washington Congress of Racial Equality

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